# THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.



Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. THUCYD.

*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.* CICERO

# THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN

# ENGLAND

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

A NEW EDITION,

EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS,

WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES;

ALSO

THE UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

## BOOK XIV.

Job xx. 19, 22.

*Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away an house which he built not:*

*In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits; every hand of the wicked shall come upon him.*

Job xxvii. 15.

*Those that remain of him shall be buried in death, and his widows shall not weep.*[a]

HAD not God[b] reserved the deliverance and restoration of the king to himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the war with Holland, and affronts every day offered

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1653.

[a] Job xx. 19, 22. *Because— shall not weep.*] *Not in MS.*

[b] Had not God] If God had not

BOOK XIV. 1653. to France, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the king of a speedy change of government there[c]. From the time of the defeat at Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland and Ireland to perfect obedience, Cromwell did not find the parliament so supple to observe his orders, as he expected they would have been. The presbyterian party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his army of the independent party, were bold in contradicting him in the house, and crossing all his designs in the city, and exceedingly inveighed against the licence that was practised in religion, by the several factions of independents, anabaptists,[d] and the several species of these; who contemned all magistrates, and the laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, Cromwell cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to shew much respect to some principal preachers of that party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that so there might be no proposition made for the disbanding any part of his army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expense of it was so great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of land forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the parliament so fierce for the carrying on that war, that they would not hearken to

[c] there] *Not in MS.* [d] anabaptists,] *MS. adds:* quakers,

any reasonable conditions of peace; which the Dutch appeared most solicitous to make upon any terms.[e] But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of independents, and other sectaries,[f] had contracted against him: that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane, thought his power and authority to be too great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough upon, or submission to, the parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority must quickly be attended with. He observed, that those his old friends very frankly united themselves with his and their old enemies, the presbyterians, for the prosecution of the war with Holland, and obstructing all the overtures towards peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the kingdom.

Cromwell erects another council of officers; who expostulate with the parliament about their arrears, and their own dissolution.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another council of officers, who, under the style, first, of petitions, and then of remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the army; used great importunity for "the arrears of their pay; that they "might not be compelled to take free quarter upon "their fellow subjects, who already paid so great "contributions and taxes; which they were well "assured, if well managed, would abundantly de-"fray all the charges of the war, and of the govern-

[e] terms.] conditions. [f] and other sectaries,] *Not in MS.*

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"ment." The sharp answers the parliament gave to their addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, "that they would be glad to be eased of "the burden of their employment; and that there "might be successive parliaments to undergo the "same trouble they had done." They therefore desired them, "that they would remember how many "years they had sat; and though they had done "great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest "of the nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing "any part in the service of their country, by their "engrossing the whole power into their hands; and "thereupon besought them, that they would settle "a council for the administration of the government during the interval, and then dissolve themselves, and summon a new parliament; which," they told them, "would be the most popular action "they could perform."

The parliament debate about the period of their sitting.

These addresses in the name of the army, being confidently delivered by some officers of it, and as confidently seconded by others who were members of the house, it was thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn debate, to the end that when the parliament had declared its resolution and determination, all persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all addresses of that kind.

There were many members of the house, who, either from the justice and reason of the request, or seasonably to comply with the sense of the army, to which they foresaw they should be at last compelled

to submit, seemed to think it necessary, for abating the great envy, which was confessedly against the parliament throughout the kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the end the people might make a new election of such persons as they thought fit to trust with their liberty and property, and whatsoever was dearest to them. But Mr. Martyn told them, "that he thought they might find the "best advice from the scripture, what they were to "do in this particular: that when Moses was found "upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's daugh-"ter, she took care that the mother might be found "out, to whose care he might be committed to be "nursed; which succeeded very happily." He said, "their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a weak "growth, and a very tender constitution; and there-"fore his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit "to nurse it, as the mother who brought it forth; "and that they should not think of putting it under "any other hands, until it had obtained more years "and vigour." To which he added, "that they had "another infant too under their hands, the war with "Holland, which had thrived wonderfully under "their conduct; but he much doubted that it would "be quickly strangled, if it were taken out of their "care who had hitherto governed it."

Harry Martyn's application of the story of Moses to this purpose.

These reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the parliament would not yet think of dissolving, nor would take it well, that any persons should take the presumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular persons to meddle with: and, to put a seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that

The parliament determined, that they would not yet think of dissolving.

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kind, they appointed a committee "speedily to pre-"pare an act of parliament for the filling up of their "house; and[g] by which it should be declared to be "high treason, for any man to propose or contrive "the changing of[h] the present government settled "and established."

This bill being prepared by the committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition. So Cromwell clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that authority and power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the army declared they were not satisfied with the determination, and continued their applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the house; and did all they could to infuse the same spirit into all the parts of the kingdom, to make the parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and Cromwell was well pleased that the parliament should express as much prejudice against the army.

All things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good season to expose these enemies of peace to the indignation of the nation; which, he knew[i], was generally weary of the war, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their contributions, and other impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the chief officers of the army, who were at his devotion, in the month of April, that was in the year 1653, he came into the house of parliament in a morning when it was sitting, attended with the of-

Cromwell and his officers dissolve the parliament.

[g] for the filling up of their house; and] *Not in MS.*

[h] contrive the changing of] contrive the dissolution of this parliament, or to change

[i] knew] well knew

ficers, who were likewise members of the house, and told them, "that he came thither to put an end to "their power and authority; which they had managed so ill, that the nation could be no otherwise "preserved than by their dissolution; which he advised them, without farther debate, quietly to submit unto."

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Thereupon another officer, with some files of musketeers, entered into the house, and stayed there till all the members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the house, with their vices and corruptions; and amongst the rest, sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer to be safely kept, he caused the doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or precedent in the Christian world that could raise his ambition to such a presumptuous undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendship of one man, who had any other interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the war.

When he had thus prosperously passed this Rubicon, he lost no time in publishing a declaration of the grounds and reasons of his proceeding, for the satisfaction of the people: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculously God had appeared for "them in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great "a degree of peace, and England to a perfect quiet; "whereby the parliament had opportunity to give

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"the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, "and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in refe-"rence to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they "were obliged by their duty, and those great[k] and "wonderful things God had wrought for them. But "that they had made so little progress towards this "good end, that it was matter of much grief to the "good people of the land, who had thereupon ap-"plied themselves to the army, expecting redress "by their means;—who, being very unwilling to "meddle with the civil authority, thought fit that "some officers, who were members of the parlia-"ment, should move and desire the parliament to "proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss "in the commonwealth, and in settling it upon a "foundation of justice and righteousness: that they "found this, and some other endeavours they had "used, produced no good effect, but rather an "averseness to the things themselves, with much "bitterness and aversion to the people of God, and "his Spirit acting in them: insomuch as the godly "party in the army was now become of no other "use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt "party, that desired to perpetuate themselves in "the supreme government of the nation: that, for "the obviating those evils, the officers of the army "had obtained several meetings with some mem-"bers of the parliament, to consider what remedies "might properly be applied; but that it appeared "very evident unto them, that the parliament, by "want of attendance of many of their members, "and want of integrity in others who did attend,

[k] their duty, and those great] those great their duty, engagements, and

"would never answer those ends, which God, his "people, and the whole nation, expected from them; "but that this cause, which God had so greatly "blessed, must needs languish under their hands, "and by degrees be lost, and the lives, liberties, and "comforts of his people, be delivered into their ene-"mies' hands. All which being seriously and sadly "considered by the honest people of the nation, as "well as by the army, it seemed a duty incumbent "upon them, who had seen so much of the power "and presence of God, to consider of some effectual "means, whereby to establish righteousness and "peace in these nations: that, after much debate, "it had been judged necessary, that the supreme "government should be, by the parliament, devolved "for a time upon known persons, fearing God, and "of approved integrity, as the most hopeful way to "countenance all God's people, preserve the law, "and administer justice impartially; hoping there-"by, that people might forget monarchy, and un-"derstand their true interest in the election of suc-"cessive parliaments, and so the government might "be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to "this glorious cause, or necessity to keep up armies "for the defence thereof: that being resolved, if "possible, to decline all extraordinary courses, they "had prevailed with about twenty members of the "parliament to give them a conference; with whom "they debated the justice and necessity of that pro-"position; but found them of so contrary an opi-"nion, that they insisted upon the continuance of "the present parliament, as it was then constituted, "as the only way to bring those good things to "pass which they seemed to desire: that they in-

BOOK XIV. 1653. "sisted upon this with so much vehemence, and "were so much transported with passion, that they "caused a bill to be prepared for the perpetuating "this parliament, and investing the supreme power "in themselves. And for the preventing the con- "summation of this act, and all the sad and evil "consequences, which, upon the grounds thereof, "must have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the "interest of all honest men, and of this glorious "cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, "they had been necessitated (though with much "repugnance) to put an end to the parliament."

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the nation at that time, than the remembering that the dissolution of that body of men, who had reigned so long over the three nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people, how unusual[l] soever the circumstances thereof had been; and that this declaration, which was not only subscribed by Cromwell and his council of officers, but was owned by the admirals at sea, and all the captains of ships, and by the commanders of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was looked upon as very reasonable; and the declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the people were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the government of the council of state, which should be nominated by the general, until such a time as a parliament, consisting of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the government of those[m] nations, found an equal submission and obedience.

The method he pursued afterwards, for the com-

[l] unusual] wonderful [m] those] these

posing a government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of men so well chosen, that they should shortly after delegate the power in form of law [n] to him for the preservation of the nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what Seneca said of Pompey, "that he had "brought the people of Rome to that pass, by mag-"nifying their power and authority, *ut salvus esse* "*non possit nisi beneficio servitutis.*" And if Cromwell had not now made himself a tyrant, all bonds being broken, and the universal guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the king's obedience, they must have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a prey to foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no man that durst mention the king, or the old form of government.

It was upon the twentieth [o] of April that the parliament had been dissolved; and though Cromwell found that the people were satisfied in it, and the declaration published thereupon, yet he knew it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the government, than the council of officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other notions of a republic than he was willing England should be brought to. A parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other assembly of men was like to be, and the contempt

[n] in form of law] legally [o] twentieth] twenty-fourth

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the last was fallen into was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion. However the ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the election of them to the humour and inclination of the people.

Cromwell and his officers choose a parliament.

He resolved therefore to choose them himself, that he might with the more justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the advice of his council of officers, for he made yet no other council of state, he made choice of a number of men, consisting of above one hundred [p] persons, who should meet as a parliament to settle the government of the nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a notion should fall into any man's imagination, that such a people should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet, upon the view and consideration of the persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that "he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; "and though he communicated it with no man that "was known [q], concluded it the most natural way "to ripen and produce the effects it did afterwards, "to the end he proposed to himself."

Conditions and qualities of the persons nominated.

There were amongst them divers [r] of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in pray-

[p] above one hundred] above one hundred and forty

[q] that was known] *Not in MS.*

[r] divers] some few

ing and preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leatherseller in Fleet-street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's parliament. In a word, they were generally [s] a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet.

From one of the members, this was nicknamed Praise-God Barebone's parliament.

It was fit these new men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for Cromwell by his warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "of the necessity of dis-"solving the late parliament, and of an equal neces-"sity, that the peace, safety, and good government "of the commonwealth should be provided for, and "therefore that he had, by the advice of his council "of officers, nominated divers persons fearing God, "and of approved fidelity and honesty, to whom the "great charge and trust of so weighty affairs was "to be committed, and that having good assurance "of their love to, and courage for God, and the in-"terest of his cause, and the good people of this "commonwealth;" he concluded in these words, "I, "Oliver Cromwell, captain general and commander "in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, "within this commonwealth, do hereby summon "and require you personally to be and appear at

Cromwell calls them together by his own warrant to meet July 4.

[s] generally] *Not in MS.*

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"the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth "day of July next, then and there to take upon "you the said trust. And you are hereby called "and appointed to serve as a member of the county "of," &c. Upon this wild summons, the persons so nominated appeared at the council-chamber upon the fourth of July, which was near three months after the dissolution of the former parliament.

Cromwell speaks to them, and delivers them an instrument for their authority.

Cromwell, with his council of officers, was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of God, and the honour due to his name," full of texts of scripture; and remembered "the "wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and the "continued series of providence, by which he had "appeared in carrying on his cause, and bringing "affairs into that present glorious condition, where-"in they now were." He put them in mind of "the noble actions of the army in the famous vic-"tory of Worcester, of the applications they had "made to the parliament, for a good settlement of "all the affairs of the commonwealth, the neglect "whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve "it." He assured them by many arguments, some of which were urged out of scripture, "that they "had a very lawful call to take upon them the su-"preme authority of the nation;" and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great tenderness "might be used towards all conscientious persons, "of what judgment soever they appeared to be."

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an instrument, engrossed in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intrust the supreme authority of this commonwealth into the

hands of those persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them, were to be "held and acknowledged the supreme authority of "the nation, to which all persons within the same, "and the territories thereunto belonging, were to "yield obedience and subjection to the third day of "the month of November, which should be in the "year 1654," which was about a year and three months from the time that he spoke to them; and three months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose power and authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the government. Being thus invested with this authority, they repaired to the parliament house, and made choice of one Rouse to be their speaker, an old gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a member of the former parliament, and in that time been preferred and made provost of the college of Eton, which office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but throughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

They repair to the parliament house, and choose Rouse their speaker.

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the style and title of a parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that title, and to consider themselves as the supreme authority in the nation. These men thus brought together continued in this capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered

They assume the name of a parliament.

BOOK XIV. 1653. Their actings and consultations.

upon any grave and serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow.

There were now no bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the lowest distress[t]. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being called so, received tithes, and respect from their neighbours. They looked upon[u] the function itself to be Antichristian, and the persons to be burdensome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tithes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they proposed[x], "that all lands belonging to the "universities, and colleges in those universities, "might be sold, and the monies that should arise "thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to "ease the people from the payment of taxes and "contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of December, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the motion, one of them stood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal to "the burden that was laid upon them, and therefore "that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver

[t] distress] beggary

[u] They looked upon] They resolved

[x] they proposed] they thought fit

"back their authority into their hands from whom "they had received it;" which being presently consented to, their speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to Whitehall, and re-delivered to Cromwell the instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and besought him to take care of the commonwealth.

On the 12th of December they delivered up their power to Cromwell.

By this frank donation he and his council of officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the nation. And in few days after, his council were too modest to share with him in this royal authority, but declared, "that the government "of the commonwealth should reside in a single person; that that person should be Oliver Cromwell, "captain general of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that his title should be lord "protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and that he should "have a council of one and twenty persons to be assistant to him in the government."

Cromwell and his council of officers make him lord protector.

Most men did now conclude, that the folly and sottishness of this last assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determined what should follow their dissolution. For the method that succeeded could hardly have been composed in so short a time after, by persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of December, that the small parliament was dissolved, when many of the members, who came to the house as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to Whitehall to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day,

1653. December 16, he is installed in Westminster-hall according to an instrument of government.

the commissioners of the great seal, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were sent for to attend Cromwell and his council to Westminster-hall; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the commissioners sitting upon their usual seat, and not knowing why they were sent for, the declaration of the council of officers was read, whereby Cromwell was made protector; who stood in the court uncovered, whilst what was contained in a piece of parchment was read, which was called the *instrument of government;* whereby it was ordained, "that the "protector should call a parliament once in every "three years; that the first parliament should be "convened upon the third day of September following, which would be in the year 1654; and that "he should not dissolve any parliament once met, "till they had sat five months; that such bills as "should be presented to him by the parliament, if "they should not be confirmed by him within twenty "days, should pass without him, and be looked upon "as laws: that he should have a select council to "assist him, which should not exceed the number "of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen: that "immediately after his death the council should "choose another protector before they rose: that no "protector after him should be general of the army: "that the protector should have power to make peace "and war: that, with the consent of his council, he "should make laws, which should be binding to the "subjects during the intervals of parliament."

The substance of it.

Cromwell takes an oath to observe it.

Whilst this was reading, Cromwell had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, "that he would not violate any thing that was contained in that instrument of government; but

"would observe, and cause the same to be observed; "and in all things, according to the best of his un-"derstanding, govern the nation according to the "laws, statutes, and customs, seeking peace, and "causing justice and law to be equally adminis-"tered."

This new invented ceremony being in this manner performed, he himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and Lambert, who was then the second person in the army, carried the sword before his highness (which was the style he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all they whom he called into it sitting bare; and so he returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation was made by a herald, in the palace-yard at Westminster, "that the late parlia-"ment having dissolved themselves, and resigned "their whole power and authority, the government "of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and "Ireland, by a lord protector, and successive triennial "parliaments, was now established: and whereas "Oliver Cromwell, captain general of all the forces "of the commonwealth, is declared lord protector of "the said nations, and had accepted thereof, publi-"cation was now made of the same; and all persons, "of what quality or condition soever, in any of the "said three nations, were strictly charged and com-"manded to take notice thereof, and to conform and "submit themselves to the government so establish-"ed; and all sheriffs, mayors, &c. were required to "publish this proclamation, to the end that none "might have cause to pretend ignorance therein." Which proclamation was at the same time published in Cheapside by the lord mayor of London; and, with all possible expedition, by the sheriffs, and other

He is proclaimed protector.

BOOK XIV. officers, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. And in some time after[y], the city of London invited

1654. their new protector to a very splendid entertainment

The city invites him to Grocer's hall. at Grocers' hall, upon an Ash-Wednesday;[z] the streets being railed, and the solemnity of his reception such as had been at any time performed to the king: and he, as like a king, graciously conferred the honour of knighthood upon the lord mayor at his departure.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all noble persons or men of quality, or of any number of men[a], who, in the beginning of the troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds lands by the year, mounted himself into the throne of three kingdoms, without the name of king, but with a greater power and authority than had ever been exercised or claimed by any king; and received greater evidence and manifestation of respect and esteem from all the kings and princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewed to any monarch of those nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

Though, during this last year's unsettlement in England, Cromwell had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good winter guard of ships in the Downs, yet the Dutch had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of trade during that confusion, and suspension of power; and had sent out their

[y] some time after] a few days after

[z] upon an Ash-Wednesday;] Not in MS.

[a] any number of men] three men

fleets of merchantmen under a convoy, by the north of Scotland; and, by the return of that convoy, received their fleet from the Baltic with security; so that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in England would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their spirits again. But Cromwell had no sooner broke the long parliament[b], but, with great diligence, he caused a strong fleet to be made ready against the spring; and committed the command thereof to three admirals jointly; Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown, from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

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1654.

A fleet this year, 1653, set forth under three admirals.

This fleet, in the beginning of June in the year 1653, met with the Dutch about the middle seas over between Dover and Zealand; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the wind not being favourable, it was noon before the fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that Dean, one of the English admirals, was killed by a cannon shot from the rear-admiral of the Dutch. The next morning, the Dutch having the advantage of the small wind that was, the English charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the sail they could for their own coasts,

The Dutch beaten at sea in June.

[b] had no sooner broke the long parliament] was no sooner invested in his new dignity

BOOK XIV. 1654.

leaving behind them eleven of their ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The execution on the Dutch was very great, as was likewise the number of the prisoners, as well officers as soldiers. The loss of the English was greatest in their general Dean: there was, besides him, but one captain, and about two hundred common seamen, killed: the number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole fleet to the coast of Holland, whither the other fled; and being got into the Flie, and the Texel, the English for some time blocked them up in their own harbours, taking all such ships as came bound for those parts[c].

The Dutch send four commissioners to treat of peace.

This great defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four commissioners into England to mediate for a treaty, and a cessation of arms; who were received very loftily by Cromwell, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a contention: yet he declared a gracious inclination to a treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no cessation; which being known in Holland, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another fleet, strong enough to remove the English from their coasts; which they believed was the best expedient to advance their treaty: and there cannot be a greater instance of the opulency of that people, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great defeat, in so short a time to set out a fleet strong

[c] parts] ports

enough[d] to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them within their ports. BOOK XIV.

Their admiral Trump had, with some of the fleet, retired into the Wierings, at too great a distance from the other ports for the English fleet to divide itself. He had, with a marvellous industry, caused his hurt ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all officers and seamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their service, that by the end of July, within less than two months after their defeat, he came out of the Wierings with a fleet of ninety and five men of war; which as soon as the English had notice of, they made towards him. But the wind rising, they were forced to stand more to sea, for fear of the sands and shelves upon that coast. Whereupon Van Trump, all that night, stood into the Texel; where he joined five and twenty more of their best ships; and with this addition, which made an hundred and twenty sail, he faced the English; who, being at this time under the command of Monk alone,[e] kept still to the sea; and having got a little more room, and the weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the Dutch with great courage and gallantry. 1654.

Trump comes to sea with another fleet before the end of July.

The battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon; when the admiral of Holland, the famous Van Trump, whilst he very signally per-

Another sea-fight. Trump slain: the English get the victory.

[d] to set out a fleet strong enough] to gather a strong fleet enough together

[e] being at this time under the command of Monk alone.] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XIV. 1654. formed the office of a brave and bold commander, was shot with a musket bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking word. This blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot service, before the evening, fled, and made all the sail they could towards the Texel: the English were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn ships, and refresh their wounded men.

This battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their enemy's fleet than the taking their ships. On the Hollanders' part, between twenty and thirty of their ships of war were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The victory cost the English dear too; for four hundred common men and eight captains were slain outright, and above seven hundred common men and five captains wounded. But they lost only one ship, which was burned: and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther service. The most sensible part of the loss to the Dutch was the death of their admiral Van Trump, who, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent commanders at sea of that age, and to whose memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last engagement at sea between the two commonwealths: for as the Dutch were, by this last defeat, and loss of their brave admiral, totally

dispirited, and gave their commissioners at London order to prosecute the peace upon any conditions, so Cromwell, being by this time become protector,[f] was weary enough of so chargeable a war, and knew he had much to do to settle the government at home, and that he might choose more convenient enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the Hollanders had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the Dutch to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they should not suffer "any of the king's party, or any enemy to the com-"monwealth of England, to reside within their do-"minions:" and another, which was contained in a secret article, to which the great seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves "ne-"ver to admit the prince of Orange to be their "stateholder, general, or admiral; and likewise to "deliver up the island of Polerone in the East In-"dies" (which they had taken from the English in the time of king James, and usurped it ever since) "into the hands of the East India English company "again;" and to pay a good sum of money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at Amboyna; for which the two last kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of April 1654, he made a peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

Cromwell makes peace with the Dutch Apr. 1654.

[f] being by this time become protector,] *Not in MS.*

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1654.

He makes Portugal send an ambassador for peace.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, he forced Portugal to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought the two crowns of France and Spain to sue for his alliance. He suspended for a time to choose a new enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad; and, in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the king's party with the utmost rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and, upon every light rumour of a conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect into close prisons; enjoined others not to stir from their own houses, and banished all who had ever been in arms for the king, from the cities of London and Westminster; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the articles granted to them when they gave up their arms, and to the indemnity upon making their compositions.

He prosecutes the king's party.

The general discontents in the nation.

The discontents were general over the whole kingdom, and among all sorts of people, of what party soever. The presbyterians preached boldly against the liberty of conscience, and the monstrous licence that sprung from thence; and they who enjoyed that licence were as unsatisfied with the government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the person of Cromwell more than any. But into these distempers Cromwell was not inquisitive; nor would give those men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those

unruly spirits at the charge of the king's party, and BOOK
with the spectacle of their suffering upon any the XIV.
most trivial occasion. And if, in this general li- 1654.
cence of discourse, any man, who was suspected to wish well to the king, let fall any light word against the government, he was sure to be cast in prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable men, who had, in themselves or their friends, been undone by their loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the person of Cromwell; wine, and good fellowship,[g] and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted person of the party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompense, betrayed his companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new plot was discovered against the commonwealth and the person of the protector, and a high court of justice was presently erected to try the criminals; which rarely absolved any man who was brought before them. But to this kind of trial they never exposed any man but those of the king's party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many friends to suffer them to be brought before such a tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the king himself, and continued to root out

[g] and good fellowship,] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XIV. 1654.

all who adhered to him. No man who had ever been against the king (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant power; but such were remitted to the trial of the law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

A high court of justice erected a month after the peace with Holland.

The very next month after the peace was made, for the better establishment of Cromwell's empire, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of persons accused of "holding correspondence with Charles "Stuart," (which was the style they allowed the king,) "and for having a design against the life of "the protector, to seize upon the Tower, and to "proclaim the king." The chief persons they accused of this were, Mr. Gerard, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been an ensign in the king's army, but was not at present above twenty-two years of age[h]: the other, one Mr. Vowel; who kept a school, and taught many boys about Islington[i]. Mr. Gerard was charged with "having been "at Paris, and having there spoken with the king;" which he confessed; and declared, "that he went "to Paris upon a business that concerned himself," (which he named,) "and when he had despatched "it, and was to return for England, he desired the "lord Gerard, his kinsman, to present him to the "king, that he might kiss his hand; which he did "in a large room, where were many present; and "that, when he asked his majesty, whether he "would command him any service into England? "his majesty bid him to commend him to his friends "there, and to charge them that they should be

Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel tried before them.

[h] twenty-two years of age] *MS. adds:* without any interest or fortune

[i] Islington] *Originally,* Knightsbridge

"quiet, and not engage themselves in any plots; "which must prove ruinous to them, and could do "the king no good:" which was very true: for his majesty had observed so much of the temper of the people at his being at Worcester, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this high court of justice received proof, that Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel had been present with some other gentlemen in a tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a "thing it was to kill the protector, and at the same "time to seize upon the Tower of London, and that, "if at the same time the king were proclaimed, the "city of London would presently declare for his "majesty, and nobody would oppose him."

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1654.

They are condemned.

Upon this evidence, these two gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of July, about two months after they had been in prison, a gallows was erected at Charing-cross; whither Mr. Vowel was brought; who was a person utterly unknown to the king, and to any person intrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preserved in the list of those who shewed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their lives for the crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he said, "he "suffered without having committed any fault." He professed his duty to the king, and his reverence for the church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the people to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them, "they would at last be "compelled to do after all their sufferings." He

Mr. Vowel executed at Charing-cross: his magnanimous behaviour.

BOOK XIV.

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addressed himself most to the soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they prostituted themselves to "serve the ambition of an unworthy tyrant;" and conjured them "to forsake him, and to serve the "king; which, he was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the king, and the kingdom, and himself, to God in very pious prayers, he ended his life with as much Christian resolution, as can be expected from the most composed conscience.

Mr. Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill in the afternoon of the same day.

The protector was prevailed with to shew more respect to Mr. Gerard in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the afternoon of the same day to a scaffold upon the Tower-hill. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of him who suffered in the morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the people, but pressed him to discover all the secrets of the plot and conspiracy. He told them, "that if he had a hundred lives, he would "lose them all to do the king any service; and was "now willing to die upon that suspicion; but that "he was very innocent of what was charged against "him; that he had not entered into or consented to "any plot or conspiracy, nor given any countenance "to any discourse to that purpose;" and offered again to speak to the people, and to magnify the king: upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the block.

The same day and place the Portugal ambassador's brother beheaded.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The ambassador of Portugal had a very splendid equipage, and in his company his brother don Pantaleon Sa, a knight of Malta,

and a man eminent in many great actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his brother in this embassy, that he might see England. This gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new exchange, upon a sudden accident and mistake, had a quarrel with that Mr. Gerard, whom we now left without his head; who had then returned some negligence and contempt to the rhodomontadoes of the Portuguese, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the don repaired thither again the next day, with many servants, better armed, and provided for any encounter, imagining he should there find his former adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the Portuguese not distinguishing persons, and finding many gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believed very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and entered into a new quarrel; in which a gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the people rising from all the neighbour places, don Pantaleon thought fit to make his retreat to his brother's house; which he did, and caused the gates to be locked, and put all the servants in arms to defend the house against the people; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a gentleman.

The ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude multitude; and took care to defend his house till the justice should allay the tumult. Cromwell was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an

BOOK XIV. 1654. officer with soldiers to demand and seize upon all the persons who had been engaged in the action: and so the ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The officer demanded the person of his brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the house, and find them wherever they were concealed. The ambassador demanded the privilege that was due to his house by the law of nations, and which he would defend against any violence with his own life, and the lives of all his family; but finding the officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the protector; which was granted to him. He complained of the injury that was done him, and desired an audience. Cromwell sent him word, "that a "gentleman had been murdered, and many others "hurt; and that justice must be satisfied; and "therefore required that all the persons engaged "might be delivered into the hands of his officer; "without which, if he should withdraw the soldiers, "and desist the requiring it, the people would pull "down the house, and execute justice themselves; "of which he would not answer for the effect. "When this was done, he should have an audience, "and all the satisfaction it was in his power to "give." The ambassador desired, "that his brother, "and the rest, might remain in his house, and he "would be responsible, and produce them before "the justice as the time should be assigned." But nothing would serve but the delivery of the persons; and the people increased their cry, "that they

"would pull down the house." Whereupon the ambassador was compelled to deliver up his brother, and the rest of the persons; who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador used all the instances he could for his brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the law; but could receive no other answer but "that justice must be "done;" and justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their trial at the sessions at Newgate, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned were executed at Tyburn; and don Pantaleon himself was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, as soon as Mr. Gerard was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his antagonist had done.

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Though the protector had nothing now to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble submission, Denmark being contented with such an alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and France and Spain contending, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the strict[k] government of Monk, who after the peace with the Dutch was sent back to govern that province, which was reduced under the government of the English laws, and their kirk, and kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the state with[l] reference to assemblies, or synods; Ireland being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the protector's com-

The condition of the respect of his neighbours.

The state of Scotland under him.

Of Ireland.

[k] strict] severe  [l] with] without

BOOK XIV. 1654. mands; so that commissions were sent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English who had adhered to the king, amongst those adventurers who had supplied money for the war, and the soldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal assignations in lands; one whole province being reserved for the Irish to be confined to [m]; and all these divisions made under the government of his younger son, Harry Cromwell, whom he sent thither as his lieutenant of that kingdom; who lived in the full grandeur of the office: notwithstanding all this, England proved not yet so towardly as he expected. Vane, and the most considerable men of the independent party, from the time he had turned them out of the parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their houses in the country; poisoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and lost nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

Disputes among his own party;

Especially the levellers.

There were another less wary, because a more desperate party, which were the levellers; many whereof had been the most active agitators in the army, who had executed his orders and designs in incensing the army against the parliament, and had been at that time his sole confidents and bedfellows; who, from the time that he assumed the title of protector, which to them was as odious as that of king, professed a mortal hatred to his person; and

m for the Irish to be confined to] for a demesne for the protector

he well knew both these people had too much credit in his army, and with some principal officers of it. Of these men he stood in more fear than of all the king's party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he coloured many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.

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1654.

He calls a parliament after a new method.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the instrument of government, and upon his oath, to call a parliament; which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the people to an entire submission to his government. In order to this meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which use to send burgesses, (by which method some single counties[n] send more members to the parliament, than six other counties do,) he thought he took[o] a more equal way by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not by him[p] thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his writs, elections were made accordingly in all places; and such persons, for the most part, chosen and returned, as were believed to be the best affected[q] to the present government, and to those who had any authority in

[n] by which method some single counties] in which there is so great an inequality, that some single counties

[o] he thought he took] he seemed to take

[p] by him] *Not in MS.*

[q] best affected] least affected

BOOK XIV. 1654.

it; there being strict order given, "that no person "who had ever been against the parliament during "the time of the civil war, or the sons of any such "persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit "in that parliament;" nor were any such persons made choice of.

His parliament meets Septemb. 3, 1654.

The day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared protector; when, after they had been at a sermon in the abbey at Westminster, they all came into the painted chamber; where his highness made them a large discourse; and told them, "that that parliament was such a congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet persons, that "England had scarce seen the like: that he should "forbear relating to them the series of God's providence all along to that time, because it was well "known to them; and only declare to them, that "the erection of his present power was a suitable "providence to the rest, by shewing what a condition these nations were in at its erection: that "then every man's heart was against another's, "every man's interest divided against another's, and "almost every thing grown arbitrary: that there "was grown up a general contempt of God and "Christ, the grace of God turned into wantonness, "and his spirit made a cloak for all wickedness and "profaneness; nay, that the axe was even laid to "the root of the ministry, and swarms of Jesuits "were continually wafted over hither to consume "and destroy the welfare of England: that the nation was then likewise engaged in a deep war "with Portugal, Holland, and France; so that the "whole nation was one heap of confusion: but that

The substance of his speech to them.

"this present government was calculated for the "people's interest, let malignant spirits say what "they would; and that, with humbleness towards "God, and modesty towards them, he would re- "count somewhat in the behalf of the government. "First, it had endeavoured to reform the law; it "had put into the seat of justice men of known in- "tegrity and ability; it had settled a way for pro- "bation of ministers to preach the gospel: and be- "sides all this, it had called a free parliament: "that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free par- "liament: then as to wars, that a peace was made "with Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal, "and was likewise near concluding with France: "that these things were but entrances, and doors "of hopes; but now he made no question to enable "them to lay the top stone of the work, recom- "mending to them that maxim, that peace, though "it were made, was not to be trusted farther than "it consisted with interest: that the great work "which now lay upon this parliament, was, that the "government of England might be settled upon "terms of honour: that they would avoid confu- "sions, lest foreign states should take advantage of "them: that, as for himself, he did not speak like "one that would be a lord over them, but as one "that would be a fellow-servant in that great af- "fair:" and concluded, "that they should go to "their house, and there make choice of a speaker:" which they presently did, and seemed very unanimous in their first act, which was the making choice of William Lenthall to be their speaker; which agreement was upon very disagreeing principles. Cromwell having designed him, for luck's sake, and

William Lenthall chosen their speaker.

BOOK XIV. 1654. being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in this, as well as he had been in the long parliament, when he always complied with that party that was most powerful. And the other persons who meant nothing that Cromwell did, were well pleased, out of hope that the same man's being in the chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former house; which they looked upon as the true legitimate parliament, strangled by the tyranny of Cromwell, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

Their actings.

Lenthall was no sooner in his chair than it was proposed, "that they might in the first place consider by what authority they came thither, and "whether that which had convened them had a "lawful power to that purpose." From which subject the protector's creatures, and those of the army, endeavoured to divert them by all the arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the house insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their counsels must be built: and as many of the members positively enough declared against that power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they might easily discern the snares which "were laid to entrap the privileges of the people; "and for his own part, as God had made him in"strumental in cutting down tyranny in one per"son, so now he could not endure to see the na"tion's liberties shackled by another, whose right to "the government could not be measured otherwise "than by the length of his sword, which alone had "emboldened him to command his commanders." This spirit prevailed so far, that, for eight days to-

gether, those of the council of officers, and others, BOOK XIV.
(who were called the court party,) could not divert
the question from being put, "whether the govern- 1654.
"ment should be by a protector and a parliament,"
any other way than by lengthening the debate, and
then adjourning the house when the question was
ready to be put, because they plainly saw that it
would be carried in the negative.

The continuance of this warm debate in the house, in which the protector's own person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what respect his sovereign presence would produce towards a better composure. So he came again to the painted chamber, and sent for his parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great "God of heaven and earth knew what grief and "sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling "into heats and divisions; that he would have "them take notice of this, that the same govern- "ment made him a protector, that made them a "parliament: that as they were intrusted in some "things, so was he in others: that in the govern- "ment were certain fundamentals, which could not "be altered, to wit, that the government should be "in a single person and a parliament; that parlia- "ments should not be perpetual, and always sit- "ting; that the militia should not be trusted into "one hand, or power, but so as the parliament "might have a check on the protector, and the pro- "tector on the parliament; that in matters of reli- "gion there ought to be a liberty of conscience, and "that persecution in the church was not to be to- "lerated. These, he said, were unalterable funda-

Cromwell speaks to them in the painted chamber.

BOOK XIV. 1654. "mentals. As for other things in the government, "they were examinable and alterable as the state "of affairs did require: that, for his own part, he "was even overwhelmed with grief, to see that any "of them should go about to overthrow what was "settled, contrary to the trust they had received "from the people; which could not but bring very "great inconveniences upon themselves and the na-"tion." When he had made this frank declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a guard to attend at the door of the parliament house, and there to restrain all men from entering into the house who refused to subscribe this following en-

He admits none into the house but such as subscribed an engagement to him.

gagement: "I do hereby promise and engage to be "true and faithful to the lord protector of the com-"monwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; "and shall not (according to the tenor of this in-"denture, whereby I am returned to serve in par-"liament) propose or give any consent[r] to alter the "government as it is settled in one person and a "parliament."

This engagement a considerable part[s] of the members utterly refused to sign; and called it a violation of the privilege of parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrained from entering into the house: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any proposition that might settle him in the government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five months

[r] any consent] my consent [s] a considerable part] the major part

near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses, (during which he was not to attempt[t] the dissolution of them, by his instrument of government,) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of January, with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with much evidence of his displeasure: and they again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his usurpation, by undertaking any employment or office under his authority, he as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious advantage appeared in two very notable instances, which happened about that time, in the case of two persons, whose names were then much taken notice of upon the stage of affairs, John Wildman and John Lilburn.

BOOK XIV.

1655.

He dissolves them Jan. 22.

An account of John Wildman and John Lilburn, levellers.

The former had been bred a scholar in the university of Cambridge, and being young, and of a pregnant wit, in the beginning of the rebellion meant to make his fortune in the war; and chose to depend upon Cromwell's countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a captain of a troop of horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting jealousies and discontents, and so dexterous in composing or improving any disgusts, and so inspired with the spirit of praying and preaching, when those gifts came

John Wildman.

[t] he was not to attempt] he durst not attempt

BOOK XIV. 1655. into request, and became thriving arts, that about the time when the king was taken from Holmby, and it was necessary that the army should enter into contests with the parliament, John Wildman grew to be one of the principal agitators, and was most relied upon by Cromwell to infuse those things into the minds of the soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their discontents, as might most advance those designs he then had; and quickly got the reputation of a man of parts; and, having a smooth pen, drew many of the papers which first kindled the fire between the parliament and the army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of both. His reputation in those faculties made him quit the army; where he was become a major; and where he kept still a great interest, and betook himself to civil affairs, in the solicitation of suits depending in the parliament, or before committees; where he had much credit with those, who had most power to do right or wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such protection from the tyranny of the time. By these arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the army, and kept and increased his credit there, by the interest he had in other places When Cromwell declined the ways of establishing the commonwealth, Wildman, amongst the rest, forsook him; and entered, warily, into any counsels which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last parliament, having less of phlegm, and so less patience than other men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a schism in the army.

as would give an opportunity to other enraged persons to take vengeance upon him. BOOK XIV.

Cromwell knew the man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant a public prosecution; but appointed some trusty spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the preamble to any conspiracy of his. Shortly after the dissolution of that parliament, these instruments of Cromwell's surprised him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a declaration; and seized upon the papers; the title whereof was, "a declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige us "to take up arms against Oliver Cromwell;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have exposed any man to the severest judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against him, or any man whom he most desired to destroy. The issue was, the man was straitly imprisoned, and preparations made for his trial, and towards his execution, which all men expected. But, whether Cromwell found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to justice, or were fit to be discovered, (as many men believed,) or that Wildman obliged himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a spy for him upon others, (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards,) after a short time of 1655.

BOOK XIV. 1655. imprisonment, the man was restored to his liberty; and resorted, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of life; in which he thrived very notably.

John Lilburn.

The case of John Lilburn was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This man, before the troubles, was a poor bookbinder; and, for procuring some seditious pamphlets against the church and state to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the star chamber, and received a sharp castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed truth; and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those libels and books, which had anciently, as well as lately, been written against the church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their style; and, by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the government most to the sense of the people, and to their humour. When the war begun, he put himself into the army; and was taken prisoner by the king's forces in that engagement at Brentford, shortly after the battle of Edge-hill; and being then a man much known, and talked of for his qualities

above mentioned, he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the chief justice, to be tried for treason by a commission of oyer and terminer, (in which method the king intended then to have proceeded against the rebels which should be taken,) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his friends at London, (and the parliament in express terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon the prisoners they had of the king's party, in the same manner as Lilburn and the rest should suffer at Oxford,") so he did find means to corrupt the marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the parliament quarters; where he was received with public joy, as a champion that had defied the king in his own court.

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From this time he was entertained by Cromwell with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a spirit, and to make those advances in religion against the presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the army, where he was an officer of name, and made him reside in London, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the pamphlets he published every day in religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to prosecute him[u] with

[u] to prosecute him] to have proceeded against him

great rigour, (towards which the assembly of divines, which he had likewise provoked, contributed their desire and demand,) Cromwell writ a very passionate letter to the parliament, "that they would not so "much discourage their army, that was fighting for "them, as to censure an officer of it for his opinion "in point of conscience; for the liberty whereof, and "to free themselves from the shackles in which the "bishops would enslave them, that army had been "principally raised." Upon which, all farther prosecution against Lilburn was declined at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the proceedings of the parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that Cromwell had dispersed that parliament,[x] and was, in effect, in possession of the sovereign power, Lilburn withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in pamphlets and invectives. loaded him with all the aspersions of hypocrisy, lying, and tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjured person could be.

Cromwell[y] could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance and concernment, than any person in authority had ever done: yet the prosecution[z] this man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his dignity, or to have any security in the government, whilst his licence continued; and therefore,

[x] parliament,] *MS. adds:* and made himself protector,

[y] Cromwell] The protector

[z] prosecution] persecution

after he had set spies upon him to observe his actions, and collect his words, and upon advice with the council at law of the state [a], was confidently informed, "that, as well by the old established laws, "as by new ordinances, Lilburn was guilty of high "treason, and had forfeited his life, if he were pro"secuted in any court of justice," he caused him to be sent to Newgate, and at the next sessions to be indicted of high treason; all the judges being present, and the council at law to enforce the evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a jury as might be fit for the importance of the case. Lilburn appeared undaunted, and with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty; he pleaded not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the judges, he shewed that he had no reverence for their persons, nor any submission to their authority. The whole day was spent in his trial; and when he came to make his defence, he mingled so much law in his discourse to invalidate their authority [b], and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor estates, were in any degree secure, whilst that usurpation was exercised; and answered all the matters objected against him with such an assurance, making them "to contain no"thing of high treason, and that to be a govern"ment against which [c] high treason could not be

[a] the council at law of the state] his council at law

[b] their authority] the authority of Cromwell

[c] that to be a government against which] Cromwell to be a person against whom

BOOK XI 1655. "committed;" and telling them "that all true born "Englishmen were obliged to oppose this tyranny, "as he had done purely for their sakes, and that he "had done it only for their sakes, and to preserve "them from being slaves, contrary to his own pro- "fit and worldly interest:" he told them "how "much he had been in Cromwell's friendship: that "he might have received any benefit or preferment "from him, if he would have sat still, and seen his "country enslaved; which because he would not "do, he was brought hither to have his life taken "from him by their judgment; which he appre- "hended not:" he defended himself with that vigour, and charmed the jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the judges could give them, (who assured them, "that the words "and actions fully proved against the prisoner, "were high treason by the law; and that they were "bound, by all the obligation of conscience, to find "him guilty,") after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their verdict, "that "he was not guilty:" nor could they be persuaded by the judges to change or recede from their verdict[d]: which infinitely enraged and perplexed Cromwell[e]; who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loss of a battle would have been. And though Lilburn was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet Cromwell[f] would never suffer him to be set at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but sent him from prison to prison, and kept him enclosed there till he himself died. These two instances of persons not otherwise considerable are thought per-

[d] verdict] judgment
[e] Cromwell] the protector
[f] though Lilburn was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet Cromwell] *Not in MS.*

tinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation; and how far the spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when nobody had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

The king's condition abroad.

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity Cromwell found in his condition at home, the king found no benefit from it abroad, or from the friendship or the indignation of other princes; they had all the same terrible apprehension of Cromwell's power as if he had been landed with an army in any of their dominions, and looked upon the king's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The treaty between France and England proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh evidence of the good intelligence between Cromwell and the cardinal. The ships and prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve Dunkirk, and by the taking whereof Dunkirk had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty; and such mutual offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of aversion from the king and his interest, made it very manifest to his majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in France, after the alliance should be published with Cromwell; which was not yet perfected, by the cardinal's blushing to consent to some propositions, without which the other's fast friendship was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

Cromwell's treaty with France.

There could be no doubt but that the king was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he lived so uncomfortably, and

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The king thinks of retreating out of France; but whither? was the question.

from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no money to enable him to remove, or to pay the debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a civil reception. Holland was bound not to admit him into their dominions, and by their example had shewed other princes and states, what conditions they must submit to who would be allies to Cromwell. The king of Spain was at the same time contending with France for Cromwell's friendship, and thought he had some advantage with him by the residence his majesty had in France: so there could be no thought of repairing into Flanders, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The protestants, in most [g] places, expressed much more inclination to his rebels than to him. The Roman catholics looked upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their arms by changing his religion, without which they generally [h] declared, "they would never give him the least assistance." In this distress, his majesty resumed the considerations he had formerly entered upon, of sending to the diet; which was summoned by the emperor to meet shortly at Ratisbon, to make choice of a king of the Romans. And Germany being then in peace, the emperor made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the king of Hungary his eldest son to be made king of the Romans, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the empire. Our king had long designed to send the lord Wilmot on that errand, to try what the emperor, and

[g] most] all [h] they generally] they all

princes of Germany, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to restore a prince so injured and oppressed by so odious a rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of Germany, for the king to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.



It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the king's condition, that this affair should be despatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an ambassador in such an equipage, as, at such an illustrious convention of all the princes of the empire, was necessary. Wilmot pressed very much for that character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an earl; for which he had obtained the king's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the king, "that this was a proper season, and very much for "the advancement of his service: but, that if he "had the title of an earl, which would be looked "upon as a high qualification, he would not assume "the character of ambassador, though he would "carry such a commission with him, but make all "his negociations as a private envoy;" of which he promised the king wonderful effects, and pretended to have great assurance of money, and of making levies of men for any expedition. The king, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any

BOOK XIV. hope of notable advantage from this agitation, was contented to make him earl of Rochester; and gave him all such commissions and credentials, as were necessary for the employment; and sent him from Paris in the Christmas time, that he might be at Ratisbon at the meeting of the diet, which was to be in the beginning of April following; means having been found to procure so much money as was necessary for that journey, out of the assignment that had been made to the king for his support: of which there was a great arrear due, and which the cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to Ratisbon as a preparatory for the king's own remove.

1655. The king makes Wilmot earl of Rochester; and sends him to the diet at Ratisbon.

The affairs of Scotland at this time.

Though Scotland was vanquished, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no place nor person who made the least shew of opposing Cromwell; who, by the administration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation; yet the preachers kept their pulpit licence; and, more for the affront that was offered to presbytery, than the conscience of what was due to majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the king; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the people against the present government. The Highlanders, by the advantage of their situation, and the hardiness of that people, made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters; and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more of their horses: and where there was most appearance of peace and subjection, if the soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were usually[i] knocked

[i] usually] always

on the head; and no inquiry could discover the malefactors.

Many expresses were sent to the king, as well from those who were prisoners in England, as from some lords who were at liberty in Scotland, "that "Middleton might be sent into the Highlands with "his majesty's commission;" and in the mean time the earl of Glencarne, a gallant gentleman, offered, if he were authorized by the king, to draw a body of horse and foot together in the Highlands, and infest the enemy, and be ready to submit to Middleton, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of arms and ammunition. Accordingly the king had sent a commission to the earl of Glencarne; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave Monk some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that Middleton might be sent over to compose some animosities and emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that union, without which nothing could succeed, his majesty, about the time that the earl of Rochester was despatched for Ratisbon, sent likewise Middleton into Scotland, with some few officers of that nation, and such a poor supply of arms and ammunition, as by the activity and industry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some merchants and officers in Holland of that nation, who were willing to redeem their country from the slavery it was in. With this very slender assistance he transported himself in the winter into the Highlands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in arms, more broken with faction amongst themselves than by the enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had delivered his thin unarmed

The king sent a commission to the earl of Glencarne.

And Middleton is sent into Scotland.

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troops to Middleton, and condescended to fight a duel with an inferior officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his command, whether he was troubled to have another command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other men to command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed Middleton's being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the attempt, he retired first to his own house, and then made his peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retained still his affection and fidelity to the king; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the same time he excused himself to the king, for giving over an enterprise which he was not able to prosecute, though Middleton sustained it a full year afterwards.

Glencarne retires to his own house; and makes his peace with Monk.

The truth is, the two persons who were most concerned in that expedition had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any success; the king, and Middleton; who had both seen an army of that people, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with victorious troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his majesty could not refuse to give them leave to attempt what they believed they could go through with; and Middleton, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be enabled to carry over with him two thousand men, and good store of arms, thought himself obliged to venture his life with

them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned; and by his behaviour there, notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises. BOOK XIV. 1655.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an adventure that was made during his being in the Highlands, which deserves to be recorded for the honour of the undertakers. There was attending upon the king a young gentleman, one Mr. Wogan, a very handsome[k] person, of the age of three or four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the parliament service against the king; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all; but so much in the friendship of Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horse, that no man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the murder of the king he was so much improved in age and understanding, that, by that horrible and impious murder, and by the information and advice of sober men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him: and in order thereunto, as soon as the marquis of Ormond resumed the government of Ireland again for the king, (which was the only place then where any arms were borne for his majesty,) captain Wogan

[k] handsome] beautiful

BOOK XIV. 1655. repaired thither to him through Scotland; and behaved himself with such signal valour, that the marquis of Ormond gave him the command of his own guards, and every man the testimony of deserving it. He came over with the marquis into France; and, being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of Middleton's being arrived in Scotland, than he resolved to find himself with him; and immediately asked the king's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the court as he could persuade to go with him; declaring to his majesty, "that he resolved to pass through England." The king, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his majesty, nor the marquis of Ormond, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations: and there was no news so much talked of in the court, as that captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to general Middleton; and many young gentlemen, and others, who were in Paris, listed themselves with him for the expedition. He went then to the chancellor of the exchequer; who, during the time of the king's stay in France, executed the office of secretary of state, to desire the despatch of such passes, letters, and commissions, as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the court, and from the free[1] discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, represented "the danger

[1] free] loose

"of the enterprise to himself, and the dishonour "that would reflect upon the king, for suffering "men under his pass, and with his commission, to "expose themselves to inevitable ruin: that it was "now the discourse of the town, and would without "doubt be known in England and to Cromwell, be-"fore he and his friends could get thither, so that "it was likely[m] they would be apprehended the "first minute they set their foot on shore; and "how much his own particular person was more "liable to danger than other men's he knew well;" and, upon the whole matter, very earnestly[n] dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

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He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the chancellor expressly refused to make his despatches, till he could speak with the king; "with whom," he said, "he would do the best he could to persuade his "majesty to hinder his journey;" with which the captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the king; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the king, that he caused all his despatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and took post for Calais.

[m] it was likely] *Not in MS.* [n] earnestly] positively

BOOK XIV. 1655. They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked the town; stayed there above three weeks, till they had bought horses, which they quartered at common inns, and listed men enough of their friends and acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell's soldiers, and from Barnet were full fourscore horse well armed and appointed, and quartered that night at St. Alban's; and from thence, by easy journeys, but out of the common roads, marched safely into Scotland; beat up some quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined Middleton in the Highlands; where poor Wogan, after many brave actions performed there, received upon a party an ordinary flesh wound; which, for want of a good surgeon, proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him. Many of the troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through England, and returned to the king.

In the distress which the king suffered during his abode in France, the chancellor of the exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with him were as angry with the marquis of Ormond, who lived in great friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the king in all his counsels which were reserved from others; yet the marquis's quality, and the great services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his aversion from all their devices to make marriages, and to

traffic in religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the queen's displeasure grew so notorious against the chancellor, that after he found by degrees[o] that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence; and for many months did not see her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the same house, the palace royal, where both their majesties kept their courts; which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her majesty, to express a great prejudice to the chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the king; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his majesty had in his fidelity.

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The queen's displeasure against the chancellor of the exchequer in France.

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance[p] of an odd nature, and a union between two seemingly[q] irreconcileable factions, the papists and the presbyterians: which was discovered to the king by a false brother, before the chancellor had any intimation of it. The lord Balcarris, with Dr. Frazier, and some other Scots about the court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the presbyterians; and caused a petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the presbyterian party "had great affections to serve his majesty, and much "power to do it; and that they had many proposi- "tions and advices to offer to his majesty for the

A petition intended of the Scottish presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the chancellor of the exchequer might be removed.

[o] by degrees] *Not in MS.*
[p] contrivance] conspiracy
[q] seemingly] very

BOOK XIV. 1655. "advancement thereof:" but that they were dis- "couraged, and hindered from offering the same, "by reason that his majesty intrusted his whole af- "fairs to the chancellor of the exchequer; who was "an old known and declared enemy to all their "party; in whom they could repose no trust: and "therefore they besought his majesty, that he might "be removed from his council, at least not be suf- "fered to be privy to any thing that should be pro- "posed by them; and they should then make it "appear how ready and how able they were in a "very short time to advance his majesty's affairs."

And of the Roman catholics also, against him. Another petition was prepared in the name of his Roman catholic subjects; which said, "that all his "majesty's party which had adhered to him, were "now totally suppressed; and had, for the most "part, compounded with his enemies, and submitted "to their government: that the church-lands were "all sold, and the bishops dead, except very few, "who durst not exercise their function: so that he "could expect no more aid from any who were con- "cerned to support the government of the church "as it had been formerly established: that by the "defeat of duke Hamilton's party[r] first, and then "by his majesty's ill success at Worcester, and the "total reduction of the kingdom of Scotland after- "wards by Cromwell, his majesty might conclude "what greater aid he was to expect from the pres- "byterian party. Nothing therefore remained to "him of hope for his restoration, but from the af- "fection of his Roman catholic subjects; who, as "they would never be wanting as to their persons,

[r] party] army

" and their estates which were left, so they had " hope to draw from the catholic princes, and the " pope himself, such considerable assistance both in " men and money, that his majesty should owe his " restitution, under the blessing of God, to the sole " power and assistance of the catholics. But they " had great reason to fear, that all these hopes " would be obstructed and rendered of no use, not " only by there being no person about his majesty " in whom the catholics could have any confidence, " but by reason that the person most trusted by " him, and through whose hands all letters and de- " spatches must pass, is a known enemy to all ca- " tholics; and therefore they besought his majesty, " that that person, the chancellor of the exchequer, " might be removed from him; whereupon he should " find great benefit to accrue to his service." It was concluded amongst them[s], that when these two petitions should be weighed and considered, the queen would easily convince his majesty, that a person who was so odious to all the Roman catholics, from whose affections his majesty had most reason to promise himself relief, and to all the protestants who could contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not be fit to be continued in any trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the longer in preparation, because the persons concerned could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by persons mutually employed, one Mr. Walsingham, a person very well known to all men who at that time knew the palace royal, who had been em-

The design discovered by one Mr. Walsingham to the k which quashed them both.

[s] It was concluded amongst them] They concluded

BOOK XIV. 1655. ployed in the affair, came to the king, and, whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery would be grateful to his majesty, informed him of the whole intrigue, and gave a copy of the petitions to the king; who shewed them to the marquis of Ormond, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and informed them of the whole design[t]. And from this time his majesty made himself very merry with it[u], and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the queen was present; and asked pleasantly, "when the two petitions "would be brought against the chancellor of the "exchequer?" which being quickly known to some of the persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both parties[x] continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the king remained in France; the queen taking all occasions to complain to the queen regent of the king's unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the chancellor; and the queen mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself, that any man should dare to interpose between the mother and the son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those complaints appear more reasonable. The cardinal de Retz had always expressed great civilities towards the king, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional con-

[t] design] intrigue [u] with it] with the design [x] parties] factions

A discourse of the king's with cardinal de Retz.

ference between them, the cardinal asked the king, "whether he had made any attempt to draw any "assistance from the pope, and whether he thought "that nothing might be done that way to his ad-"vantage?" The king told him, "nothing had been "attempted that way; and that he was better able "to judge, whether the pope was like to do any thing "for a man of his faith." The cardinal smiling, said, "he had no thought of speaking of his faith;" yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest man; "that if any overtures were made him of the change "of his religion, he must tell his majesty, it becomes y "him as a cardinal to wish his majesty a catholic "for the saving his soul; but he must declare too, "that if he did change his religion, he would never "be restored to his kingdoms." But he said, "he "did believe," (though the pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity; for Innocent the Tenth was then living,) "that if some proper application "was made to the princes of Italy, and to the pope "himself, though there would not be gotten where-"withal to raise and maintain armies, there might "be somewhat considerable obtained for his more "pleasant support, wherever he should choose to "reside." He said, "he had himself some alliance "with the great duke, and interest in other courts, "and in Rome itself; and if his majesty would give "him leave, and trust his discretion, he would write "in such a manner in his own name to some of his "friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his "majesty, if it brought him no convenience." The king had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and

y becomes] became

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to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the cardinal asked his majesty a question or two of matter of fact, which he could not answer; but told him, "he would give "a punctual information of it the next day in a let- "ter:" which the cardinal desired might be as soon as his majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it, make his despatches into Italy. The particular things being out of the king's memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the chancellor of the exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual account from him, his majesty writ a letter the next day to the cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the cardinal coming one day to the Louvre to see the queen mother, he was arrested by the captain of the guard, and sent prisoner to the Bastille; and in one of his pockets, which they searched, that letter the king had sent to him was found, and delivered to the queen regent; who presently imparted it to the queen of England; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the French, the king having, for the secrecy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the pope, and to other catholic princes; and that his majesty should enter upon any such counsel, without first consulting with the queen his mother, could proceed only from the instigation of the chancellor of the exchequer.

The cardinal de Retz sent to the Bastille.

Her majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the king for his neglect, and gave him his letter. The king was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the queen mother had

shewed towards him, in communicating his letter in that manner to his mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the queen mother, who was in truth a very worthy lady, shewed much more kindness to the king. And a little time after, there being a masque at the court that the king liked very well, he persuaded the chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the queen regent asked, "who that fat man was who sat by the "marquis of Ormond?" The king told her aloud, "that was the naughty man who did all the mischief, and set him against his mother:" at which the queen herself was little less disordered than the chancellor was [z]. But they within hearing laughed so much, that the queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage, whom few thought to deserve the reproach.

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Prince Rupert with his fleet arrives at Nantes.

At this time the king was informed by the French court, "that prince Rupert, who had been so long "absent, having gone with the fleet from Holland "before the murder of the late king, and had not "been heard of in some years, was now upon the "coast of France, and soon after at Nantes, in the "province of Bretagne, with the Swallow, a ship of "the king's, and with three or four other ships: and "that the Constant Reformation, another ship of the "king's, in which prince Maurice had been, was cast

[z] chancellor was] *MS. adds:* who blushed very much

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Great expectation was raised in the English court, that there would be some notable change upon the arrival of this prince; and though he had professed much kindness to the chancellor of the exchequer, when he parted from Holland, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his friend, the rather for that he had left Ireland with some declared unkindness towards the marquis of Ormond. And all men knew that the attorney general, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that prince; and that his highness could not be without credit enough with the king to introduce him into business; which they thought would at least lessen the chancellor. In order to which, it was no sooner known that prince Rupert was landed in France, but the lord Jermyn visited and made great court to sir Edward Herbert; between whom and him there had been greater shew of animosity than between any two of the nation who were beyond the seas, they having for some years seldom spoken to, never well of, each other. And Herbert, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that he would have no friendship with any man "who believed the other to be an honest man." Between these two a great friendship is suddenly made;

and the attorney is every day with the queen, who had shewed a greater aversion from him than from any man, not only upon the business of the duke of York, but upon many other occasions. But now she commended him to the king, "as a wise man, "of great experience, and of great interest in Eng-"land."

The queen mother moves the king to make Herbert lord keeper; and he is made.

From the death of sir Richard Lane, who had been keeper of the great seal under his late majesty, there had not only been no officer in that place, but, from the defeat at Worcester, the king had been without any great seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a great seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the queen pressed the king very earnestly, to make the attorney general lord keeper of the great seal; which was a promotion very natural, men ordinarily rising from the one office to the other. The king knew the man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when prince Rupert came to him, he should be pressed both by his mother and him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the man himself were in good humour, he would be of great use in composing any ill humour that should arise in the prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his majesty thought it best (since nobody dissuaded him from the thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the prince came; and so called him to his council, and made him lord keeper of the great seal; with which he seemed wonderfully delighted; and for some time lived well towards

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every body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present state of affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Prince Rupert gives an ill account of his fleet.

Before the prince came to Paris he gave the king such an account, as made it evident that his majesty was to expect no money: "that what treasure had "been gotten together, which, he confessed, had "amounted to great value, had been all lost in the "ship in which himself was," (that sprung a plank in the Indies, when his highness was miraculously preserved,) "and, in the boat, carried to another "ship, when that the Antelope, with all the men, "and all that had been gotten, sunk in the sea; and "that much of the other purchase had been likewise "cast away in the ship in which his brother perished; "which was after his own misfortune:" so that all that was brought into Nantes would scarce pay off the seamen, and discharge some debts at Toulon, which the prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the king had been in Holland: and, "that the ships were all so eaten "with worms, even the Swallow itself, that there "was no possibility of setting them out again to "sea." This was all the account the king could receive of that whole affair, when the prince himself came to Paris; with which though the king was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the prince taking it very ill that any account should be required of him; and the keeper quickly persuaded

his highness, that it was only the chancellor of the exchequer's influence, that disposed the king with so much strictness to examine his account.

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An affair concerning Mr. Long; who petitions the king to be restored to the secretary's place.

There was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much credit with his master. When the king went into Scotland, Mr. Robert Long, who hath been mentioned before, was secretary of state; who, having been always a creature of the queen's, and dependent upon the lord Jermyn, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in Scotland, (for he was one of those who was removed from the king there, and sent out of that kingdom,) that when his majesty returned from Worcester to Paris, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any man to serve the king honestly, "and to preserve the good opinion of the queen, and "keep the lord Jermyn's favour." The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the king did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the court, and lived privately at Rouen; which was the reason that the chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the lord Jermyn and the keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveighed against Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a

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better expedient found out to lessen the chancellor's credit, than by restoring Long to the execution of the secretary's function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to the king, "that he might be again restored to his office "and attendance, or that he might be charged with "his crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not "clear himself, and appear innocent." This petition was presented to the king, when he was in council, by the queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the king was surprised, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said, "that her "majesty was the principal cause that induced his "majesty to remove him from his place, and that "she then believed that he was not fit for the "trust." She said, "she had now a better opinion "of him, and that she had been misinformed." The king thought it unfit to receive a person into so near a trust, against whose fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and his majesty knew that few of his friends in England would correspond with him; and therefore would not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the chancellor's account, and the influence he had upon the king.

Is refused by the king.

Whereupon Mr. Long accuses the chancellor of the exchequer of his having been in England, and conversed with Cromwell.

Thereupon Mr. Long accused the chancellor of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor pressed, "that a day might be appointed for him to "produce his proof:" and at that day the queen

came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions, during the time of the king's being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and, being released with the rest of the king's servants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the same service under the chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the king, and the duke of York, and the rest of the king's children to write, being indeed the best writer,[a] for the fairness of the hand, of any man in that time.

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The business heard in council. Massonet is produced as a hearsay witness of it.

Massonet said, "that after his release from his "imprisonment, and whilst he stayed in London, he "spoke with a maid, who had formerly served him, "that knew the chancellor very well, and who as"sured him, that one evening she had seen the "chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at White"hall; and after he had been shut up with him "some hours, she saw him conducted out again." And Mr. Long desired time, that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, "he would make no other defence, than that there "were persons then in the town, who, he was con"fident, would avow that they had seen him once "every day, from the time he returned from Spain "to the day on which he attended his majesty at "Paris;" as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room; which the

[a] the best writer,] *MS adds:* in Latin as well as English,

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king would not have him to do. But he told his majesty, "that it was the course; and that he "ought not to be present at the debate that was "to concern himself;" and the keeper, with some warmth, said, "it was true;" and so he retired to his own chamber. The lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, "he never thought the accusation "had any thing of probability in it; and that he "believed the chancellor a very honest man: but "the use that he thought ought to be made of this "calumny, was, that it appeared that an honest "and innocent man might be calumniated, as he "thought Mr. Long had likewise been; and there-"fore they ought both to be cleared." The keeper said, "he saw not ground enough to condemn the "chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to de-"clare him innocent: that there was one witness "which declared only what he had heard; but that "he undertook also to produce the witness herself, "if he might have time; which in justice could not "be denied; and therefore he proposed, that a com-"petent time might be given to Mr. Long to make "out his proof; and that in the mean time the "chancellor might not repair to the council:" with which proposition the king was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, "he discerned well the "design; and that it was so false and wicked a "charge, that, if he had no other exception against "Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it "was cause enough never to trust him." And therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, "he was sorry he was not in a "condition to do him more justice than to declare

The king acquits the chancellor.

"him innocent;" which he did do, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his majesty himself would sign.

The keeper accuses the chancellor of the exchequer of having spoken ill of the king.

The keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, "if what he "heard from a person of honour, who, he thought, "would justify it, were true, the chancellor had "aspersed the king in such a manner, and so much "reviled[b] his majesty in point of his honour, that "he was not fit to sit there." The chancellor was wonderfully surprised with the charge; and humbly besought his majesty, "that the lord keeper might "produce his author, or be looked upon as the con- "triver of the scandal." The keeper answered, "that if his majesty would appoint an hour the "next day for the council to meet, he would pro- "duce the person, who, he was confident, would "justify all he had said."

The lord Gerard produced to prove it.

The next day, the king being sat in council, the keeper desired that the lord Gerard might be called in; who presently appeared; and being asked, "whether he had at any time heard the chancellor "of the exchequer speak ill of the king?" he answered, "Yes." And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the chancellor and him a year before, when the king lay at Chantilly; "that one day, after dinner, the king took "the air, and being in the field his majesty alighted "out of his coach, and took his horse, with other of "the lords, to ride into the next field to see a dog "set partridge; and that he, the lord Gerard, and

[b] reviled] depraved

BOOK XIV. 1655. "the chancellor remained in the coach, when he en-"tered into discourse of the king's condition; and "said, that he thought his majesty was not active "enough, nor did think of his business; and, that "the chancellor, who was known to have credit "with him, ought to advise him to be active, for "his honour and his interest; otherwise, his friends "would fall from him. But, that it was generally "believed, that he, the chancellor, had no mind that "his majesty should put himself into action, but "was rather for sitting still; and therefore it con-"cerned him, for his own justification, to persuade "the king to be active, and to leave France, where "he could not but observe that every body was "weary of him. To all which the chancellor took "great pains to purge himself from being in the "fault; and said, that nobody could think that he "could take delight to stay in a place where he was "so ill used; but laid all the fault upon the king; "who, he said, was indisposed to business, and took "too much delight in pleasures, and did not love "to take pains; for which he was heartily sorry, "but could not help it; which," Gerard said, "he "thought was a great reproach and scandal upon "the king, from a man so obliged and trusted, who "ought not to asperse his master in that manner."

The chancellor's defence.

The chancellor was a little out of countenance; and said, "he did not expect that accusation from "any body, less that the lord Gerard should dis-"cover any private discourse that had passed a year "before between them two, and which appeared by "his relation to have been introduced by himself, "and by his own freedom: that whosoever believed "that he had a mind to traduce the king, would

"never believe that he would have chosen the lord "Gerard, who was known to be none of his friend, "to have communicated it to." He said, "he did "very well remember, that the lord Gerard did, at "that time when they two remained alone in the "coach, very passionately censure the king's not be-"ing active, and blamed him, the chancellor, for not "persuading his majesty to put himself into action; "and that he was generally believed to be in the "fault. Upon which he had asked him, what he "did intend by being active, and what that action "was, and where, to which he wished the king "should be persuaded? He answered, with an in-"crease of passion, and addition of oaths, that ra-"ther than sit still in France, his majesty ought to "go to every court in Christendom; that, instead "of sending an ambassador who was not fit for any "business, he should have gone himself to the diet "at Ratisbon, and solicited his own business; which "would have been more effectual: and that, if he "could not find any other way to put himself into "action, he ought to go into the Highlands of Scot-"land to Middleton, and there try his fortune." To all which the chancellor said, he did remember that he replied, "he believed the king was indisposed to "any of that action he proposed: and though he "did not believe that he had used those expressions, "of the king's delighting in pleasures, and not lov-"ing business so well as he ought to do, if the lord "Gerard would positively affirm he had, he would "rather confess it, and submit himself to his ma-"jesty's judgment, if he thought such words pro-"ceeded from any malice in his heart towards him, "than, by denying it, continue the debate:" and

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then he offered to retire; which the king forbid him to do; upon which the keeper was very angry; and said, "the words amounted to an offence of a "high nature; and that he was sorry his majesty "was no more sensible of them: that for any man, "especially a counsellor, and a man in so near trust, "to accuse his master of not loving his business, "and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he "could to persuade all men to forsake him;" and proceeding with his usual warmth and positiveness, the king interrupted him; and said, "he did really "believe the chancellor had used those very words, "because he had often said that, and much more, to "himself; which he had never taken ill: that he "did really believe that he was himself in fault, and "did not enough delight in his business; which was "not very pleasant; but he did not know that such "putting himself into action, which was the com-"mon word, as the lord Gerard advised, was like to "be attended with those benefits, which, he was "confident, he wished." In fine, he declared, "he "was very well satisfied in the chancellor's affec-"tion, and took nothing ill that he had said;" and directed the clerk of the council to enter such his majesty's declaration in his book; with which both the keeper and the lord Gerard were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the chancellor, during the time of his majesty's abode in France. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the king's return into England, there came the woman to the chancellor, who had been carried over to Rouen by Massonet, and importuned by Mr. Long to testify that she had seen the chancellor with

Cromwell; for which she should have a present liberal reward in money from him, and a good service at Paris; which when the woman refused to do, he gave her money for her journey back, and so she returned: of which the chancellor informed the king. But Mr. Long himself coming at the same time to him, and making great acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the chancellor frankly remitted the injury[c]; which Mr. Long seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

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The king, wearied with these domestic vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the French court to him, grew very impatient to leave France; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive money by the return of prince Rupert with that fleet, he hoped that, when the prizes should be sold, and all the seamen discharged, and prince Rupert be[d] satisfied his demands, which were very large, there would be still left the ships, and ordnance, and tackling, which (though they required great charge to be fitted out again to sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good sum of money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the ship itself, fifty good brass guns on board the Swallow, which were very valuable. His majesty therefore writ to prince Rupert, (who was returned to Nantes to discharge some seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the prizes,) "that he "should find some good chapmen to buy the ships,

[c] remitted the injury] *MS. adds:* and would make no more words of it

[d] be] *Not in MS.*

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"and ordnance, and tackle, at the value they were "worth:" which was no sooner known at Nantes, than there appeared chapmen enough, besides the marshal of Melleray, who being governor of that place, and of the province, had much money always[e] by him to lay out on such occasions. And the prince writ the king word, "that he had then a good chap-"man, who would pay well for the brass cannon; "and that he should put off all the rest at good "rates." But he writ again the next week, "that, "when he had even finished the contract for the "brass cannon, there came an order from the court, "that no man should presume to buy the brass can-"non, and to marshal Melleray to take care that "they were not carried out of that port."

The prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from Cromwell; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the Swallow itself, if not to the other ships; and the marshal contributed to and cherished this jealousy, that the better markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his highness first came into that port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good-will and trust, "that he should use all expedition in the sale of the "prizes, lest either Cromwell should demand the "whole, (which he much doubted,) or that the mer-"chants, owners of the goods, should, upon the "hearing where they were, send and arrest the said "ships and goods, and demand restitution to be "made of them in a course of justice; in either of

[e] always] still

"which cases," he said, "he did not know, considering how things stood with England, what the court would determine:" though, he promised, "he would extend his authority to serve the prince, as far as he could with his own safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any orders he should receive, till the prince might facilitate the despatch," and by this kind advice very good bargains had been made for those goods which had been sold; of which the marshal had an account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome advertisement, the king made his address to the cardinal to revoke this order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "that the money, which should be raised upon the sale of those cannon, was the only means he had to remove himself out of France, which he intended shortly to do, and to go to the hither parts of Germany, and that his sister, the princess of Orange, and he, had some thoughts of finding themselves together, in the beginning of the summer, at the Spa:" which indeed had newly entered into the king's consideration, and had been entertained by the princess royal; the cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his majesty, "that this order was not newly made, but had been very ancient, that no merchants or any private subjects should buy any brass ordnance in any port, lest ill use might be made of them; and that the order was not now revived with any purpose to bring any prejudice to his majesty; who should be no loser by the restraint; for that himself would buy the ordnance, and give as much for them as they were worth; in order to which,

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It was well for the king that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris; for of all the money paid or received at Nantes, as well for the ships, tackle, and ordnance, as for the prize-goods, not one penny ever came to the king's hands, or to his use, but what he received at Paris from the cardinal for the brass guns which were upon the Swallow; for the valuing whereof the king sent one thither to treat with the officer of the cardinal. All the rest was disposed, as well as received, by prince Rupert; who, when he returned to Paris, gave his majesty a confused account; and averred, "that the "expenses had been so great, that there was not "only no money remaining in his hands, but that "there was a debt still due to a merchant;" which he desired his majesty to promise to satisfy.

The king resolves to go into Germany.

The king's resolution to go into Germany was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of France, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his majesty, who needed no spurs for that journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his friends in England; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the cardinal and Cromwell, and knowing that the alliance between them was very

near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the king, did really apprehend that his majesty's person might be given up; and thereupon they sent Harry Seymour, who, being of his majesty's bedchamber, and having his leave to attend his own affairs in England, they well knew would be believed by the king, and being addressed only to the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the king privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and divers[f] messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, with the privity of those few who were trusted by them, "to "be very importunate with the king, that he would "remove out of France; and to communicate to his "majesty all which they received from persons who "were admitted into many of the secret resolutions "and purposes of Cromwell." And because they well knew in what straits the king was for money, they found some means at that time to send him a supply of about three thousand pounds; which the king received, and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word likewise, "that wherever he should "choose to reside out of France, they were confi- "dent his servants in England, under what perse- "cution soever they lay, would send him some sup- "ply: but whilst he remained in France, nobody "would be prevailed with to send to him." The king was glad to be confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his friends' advice; and that they

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Mr. Harry Seymour sent to the king from his friends in England.

[f] divers] all

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had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his debts were so great in Paris, and the servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a journey, that, if the cardinal, over and above the money for the cannon, (which the king did not desire to receive till the last,) did not take care for the payment of all the arrears, which were due upon the assignment they had made to him, he should not be able to make his journey.

The cardinal pays the king all his arrears from France.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for when the cardinal was satisfied that his majesty had a full resolution to be gone, which he still doubted, till he heard from Holland that the princess royal did really provide for her journey to the Spa, he did let the king know, "that, against the time that his "majesty appointed his remove, his arrears should "be either entirely paid, or so much of his debts "secured to his creditors, as should well satisfy "them; and the rest should be paid to his receiver "for the charge of the journey;" and likewise assured his majesty, "that, for the future, the monthly "assignation should be punctually paid to whomso-"ever his majesty would appoint to receive it." This promise was better complied with than any other that had been made, till, some years after, the king thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remembered in its place.

All things being in this state, the king declared his resolution to begin his journey, as soon as he could put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the family to be

ready to wait upon his majesty, and for the better regulating and governing it, when the king should be out of France; there having never been any order taken [g] in it whilst he remained there, nor could be, because his majesty had always eaten with the queen, and her officers had governed the expense; so that by the failing of receiving money that was promised, and by the queen's officers receiving all that was paid, to carry on the expense of their majesty's table, which the king's servants durst not inquire into, very few of his majesty's servants had received any wages from the time of his coming from Worcester to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be contented with such a proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave Paris and attend him [h]. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the king met with an obstruction, that he least suspected [i], from the extraordinary [k] narrowness of the cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The agent he had sent to Nantes to view the cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last offered much less than they were worth, and than the other merchant had offered, when the injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The king knew not what to propose in this. The cardinal said, " he understood

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[g] taken] put
[h] and attend him] *Not in MS.*
[i] suspected] expected
[k] extraordinary] wonderful

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"not the price of cannon himself, and therefore he "had employed a man that did; and it was reason-"able for him to govern himself by his conduct; "who assured him, that he offered as much as they "could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the king's behalf, "that he would permit others to "buy them; which," he said, "he could not do, be-"cause of the king his master's restraint; and if "any merchant, or other person, should agree for "them, Cromwell would demand them wherever "they should be found; and there were not many "that would dispute the right with him." In conclusion, the king was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the money, all[1] allowance for paying it in gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest merchant, than by a member of the sacred college, who would be esteemed a prince of the church.

The condition of king Charles the First's children after their father's death.

Whilst the king[m] is preparing for his journey to meet the princess of Orange, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his brothers and sisters. After that the princess Henrietta had been secretly conveyed from Oatlands into France, by the lady Moreton her governess, in the year forty-six; and the duke of York, in the year forty-eight, had made his escape[m] from St. James's;

[1] all] as

[m] Whilst the king—made his escape] Whilst the king was preparing for his journey, he received news that pleased him very well, and looked like some addition of strength to him. After the duke of York had made his escape, &c.

where he, and the rest of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the earl of Northumberland; the parliament would not suffer, nor did the earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government. But the other two, the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester[n], were committed to the countess of Leicester; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury, as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth; which was performed towards them as long as the king their father lived. But as soon as the king was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the eyes and application of people towards them. The allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given, "that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit "at their meat as the children of the family did, and "all at one table." Whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the earl of Leicester's in Kent; where they lived under the tuition of the same countess, who observed the order of the parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them.

There, by an act of providence, Mr. Lovel,[o] an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the house of Leicester, became likewise tutor to

[n] But the other two, the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester] But the other three, two princesses and the duke of Gloucester

[o] Mr. Lovel,] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XIV. 1655. the duke of Gloucester; who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well instructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the king his brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of those instructions which the king his father had, with much fervour, given him before his death. But shortly after, the princess Elizabeth [p] and the duke of Gloucester were removed from the government of the countess of Leicester, and sent into the Isle of Wight to Carisbrook castle; where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an assignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, "that no person "should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that "they should not be otherwise treated than as the "children of a gentleman;" which Mildmay observed very exactly; and the duke of Gloucester was not called by any other style than, Mr. Harry. The tutor was continued, and sent thither [q] with him; which pleased him very well. And here they remained at least two or three years. The princess died in this place; and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the duke of Gloucester,

[p] But shortly after, the princess Elizabeth] One of the princesses died at Penshurst, and shortly after the other princess

[q] thither] hither

who was now about twelve[r] years of age, and a prince of extraordinary hopes both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to the parliament[s], "that he was "well content that the son of the late king, who "was then in Carisbrook castle, should have liberty "to transport himself into any parts beyond the seas, "as he should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order, and warrant, as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the parliament[t] that gave him liberty to go over the seas with the duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the commissioners of the treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and

twelve] fourteen

to the parliament] to his council

[t] the parliament] the council

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This happened in the latter end of the year 1652;[u] and was so well prosecuted, that, soon after, the king received[x] advertisement from his sister in Holland, "that the duke of Gloucester was arrived there; "and would be the next day with her;" which was no sooner known than the queen very earnestly desired, that he might be presently sent for to Paris, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old[y]; for within such a short time after he was born, the troubles were so far advanced, that her majesty made her voyage into Holland, and from that time had never seen him. The king could not refuse to satisfy his mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did[z] suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had despatched presently a messenger to the Hague, that his brother might make all possible haste to Paris[a]. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

[u] This happened in the latter end of the year 1652;] *Not in MS.*

[x] that, soon after, the king received] that, at the time when the king was making his preparations ready to leave France, he received

[y] a year old] three months old

[z] did] did then

[a] make all possible haste to Paris] *Thus continued in MS.:* his majesty having nothing more in his resolution, than that his brother should not make any stay in France, but that he should return again with him into Germany; and with this determination of the king's he was presently sent for, &c.

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Now [b] all expedition was used to provide for the king's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the charge of governing the expenses of the family, and of payment of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the court resided any where, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the severe discipline of the lord Peircy, now lord chamberlain of the king's household. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a trust; and indeed his great industry, modesty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris.

Mr. Stephen Fox admitted to manage the king's money.

Prince Rupert was now returned from Nantes; and finding that he should receive none of the money the cardinal was to pay for the brass ordnance, and being every day more indisposed by the chagrin humour of the keeper, (who endeavoured to inflame him against the king, as well as against most other men, and thought his highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and friendship for him, except he fell out with every body with whom he was angry,) resolved to leave the king; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other man, by the despair that seemed to attend the king's fortune; and told his majesty, "that he was resolved "to look after his own affairs in Germany; and first

Prince Rupert leaves the king; and goes into Germany.

[b] Now] *Not in MS.*

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"to visit his brother in the palatinate, and require "what was due from him for his appanage; and then "to go to the emperor, to receive the money that "was due to him upon the treaty of Munster;" which was to be all paid by the emperor: from the prosecution of which purpose his majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the prince expected; which raised his natural passion; insomuch, as the day when he took his leave, that nobody might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon, the king, he told his majesty, "that, if he pleased, he might dispose of the place "of master of the horse;" in which he had been settled by the late king, and his present majesty had, to preserve that office for him, and to take away the pretence the lord Peircy might have to it, by his having had that office to the prince of Wales, recompensed him with the place of lord chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the king bore this resignation likewise from the prince with the same countenance as he had done his first resolution; and so, towards the end of April, or the beginning of May, his highness left the king, and begun his journey for the palatinate.

Resigns to him the place of master of the horse.

Shortly after the prince was gone, the king begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a list of his servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a conjuncture, as God Almighty should give him, that might invite him to new activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best

"he could for it, by having only such about him as "could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the lord keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the list of those who were to go with him, he left his name out; which the keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the king, and asked him, "whether he "did not intend that he should wait upon him?" His majesty told him, "No; for that he resolved to "make no use of his great seal; and therefore that "he should stay at Paris, and not put himself to the "trouble of such a journey, which he himself intend- "ed to make without the ease and benefit of a coach:" which in truth he did, putting his coach-horses in a waggon, wherein his bed and clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a coach in some years after. The keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the great seal, and delivered it to him; and desired, "that he would sign a "paper, in which his majesty acknowledged, that he "had received again his great seal from him;" which the king very willingly signed; and he immediately removed his lodging, and left the court; and never after saw his majesty; which did not at all please the queen; who was as much troubled that he was to stay where she was, as that he did not go with the king.

The lord keeper Herbert resigns his office to the king.

The queen prevailed with the king, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the duke of "Gloucester with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disoblig-

The queen prevails with the king to leave the duke of Gloucester with her.

ing her, he could not resist. She desired him "to "consider in what condition he had been bred till "he came into France [c], without learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a court, or "good company; and being now in a place, and at "an age, that he might be instructed in all these, to "carry him away from all these advantages to live "in Germany, would be interpreted by all the world, "not only to be want of kindness towards his brother, "but want of all manner of respect to her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the king's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his religion; which when the queen had assured the king "was not in her thought, and "that she would not permit any such attempt to be "made," his majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his majesty to begin his journey, the king desired that the chancellor of the exchequer might likewise part in the queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, she having been [d] so severe towards him, that he had not for some months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any advance towards it. But the day before the king was to be gone, the lord Peircy, who was directed by his majesty to speak in the affair, and who in truth had kindness for the chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust,

[c] till he came into France] *Not in MS.*

[d] she having been] which had been

brought him word that the queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her majesty, they found her alone in her private gallery, and the lord Peircy withdrawing to the other end of the room, the chancellor told her majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into "her presence, he hoped, she would let him know "the ground of the displeasure she had conceived "against him; that so having vindicated himself "from any fault towards her majesty, he might "leave her with a confidence in his duty, and re-"ceive her commands, with an assurance that they "should be punctually obeyed by him." The queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been con-"tented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss "her hand, to comply with the king's desires, who "had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he lived "in that manner towards her, that he had no reason "to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not "assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his "disrespect towards her was notorious to all men; "and that all men took notice, that he never came "where she was, though he lodged under her roof," (for the house was hers,) "and that she thought she "had not seen him in six months before; which "she looked upon as so high an affront, that only "her respect towards the king prevailed with her "to endure it."

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Upon the king's departure from France, the chancellor of the exchequer had an audience of the queen mother.

When her majesty made a pause, the chancellor said, "that her majesty had only mentioned his pu-"nishment, and nothing of his fault: that how great "soever his infirmities were in defect of understand-

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"ing, or in good manners, he had yet never been in "Bedlam; which he had deserved to be, if he had "affected to publish to the world that he was in the "queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her: "that he had no kind of apprehension that they "who thought worst of him, would ever believe him "to be such a fool, as to provoke the wife of his "dead master, the greatness of whose affections to "her was well known to him, and the mother of "the king, who subsisted by her favour, and all this "in France, where himself was a banished person, "and she at home, where she might oblige or dis-"oblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well "assured, that nobody would think him guilty of "so much folly and madness, as not to use all the "endeavours he possibly could to obtain her grace "and protection: that it was very true, he had been "long without the presumption of being in her ma-"jesty's presence, after he had undergone many "sharp instances of her displeasure, and after he "had observed some alteration and aversion in her "majesty's looks and countenance, upon his coming "into the room where she was, and during the time "he stayed there; which others likewise observed "so much, that they withdrew from holding any "conversation with him in those places, out of fear "to offend her majesty: that he had often desired, "by several persons, to know the cause of her ma-"jesty's displeasure, and that he might be admitted "to clear himself from any unworthy suggestions "which had been made of him to her majesty; but "could never obtain that honour; and therefore he "had conceived, that he was obliged, in good man-"ners, to remove so unacceptable an object from

"the eyes of her majesty, by not coming into her BOOK XIV. 1655.
"presence; which all who knew him, could not but
"know to be the greatest mortification that could
"be inflicted upon him; and therefore he most hum-
"bly besought her majesty at this audience, which
"might be the last he should receive of her, she
"would dismiss him with the knowledge of what
"had been taken amiss[e], that he might be able to
"make his innocence and integrity appear: which
"he knew had been blasted by the malice of some
"persons; and thereby misunderstood and misin-
"terpreted by her majesty." But all this prevailed not with her majesty; who, after she had, with her former passion, objected his credit with the king, and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have, concluded, "that she should be glad "to see reason to change her opinion;" and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her majesty departed to her chamber.

The king left Paris in June 1654.

It was about the beginning of June in the year 1654, that the king left Paris; and because he made a private journey the first night, and did not join his family till the next day, which administered much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold person to publish, amongst the amours of the French court, a particular that reflected upon the person of the king, though[f] with less licence than he used towards his own sovereign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a preservation God then wrought for the king, that was none of the least of his mercies[g] vouchsafed to him; and which

[e] had been taken amiss] he had done amiss

[f] though] *Not in MS.*

[g] that was none of the least of his mercies] little inferior to the greatest that is contained in the bundle of his mercies

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There was at that time in the court of France, or rather in the jealousy of that court, a lady of great beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her extraction was very noble, and her alliance the best under the crown, her fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the widow of a duke of an illustrious name, who had been killed fighting for the king in the late troubles, and left his wife childless, and in her full beauty. The king had often seen this lady with that esteem and inclination, which few were without, both her beauty and her wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The earl of Bristol, who was then a lieutenant general in the French army, and always amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this lady; and, to have the more power with her, communicated those secrets of state which concerned her safety, and more the prince of Condé, whose cousin german she was; the communication whereof was of benefit or convenience to both: yet though he made many romantic attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other man than himself, who was accustomed to extraordinary flights in the air, he could not arrive at the high success he proposed. At the

[h] by some near him] *Not in MS.*

same time, the lord Crofts was transported with the same ambition; and though his parts were very different from the other's, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When these two lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity, they agreed generously to merit their mistress's favour by doing her a service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the marriage of the king; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her person: and they pursued it with his majesty with all their artifices. They added the reputation of her wisdom and virtue to that of her beauty, and "that she might be instrumental to the procuring "more friends towards his restoration, than any "other expedient then in view;" and at last prevailed so far with the king, who no doubt had a perfect esteem of her, that he made the overture to her of marriage; which she received with her natural modesty and address, declaring herself "to be "much unworthy of that grace;" and beseeching and advising him "to preserve that affection and "inclination for an object[i] more equal to him, and "more capable to contribute to his service;" using all those arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and inflame him to new importunities.

Though these lords made themselves, upon this advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the French court would obstruct it, as they had

[i] object] subject

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done that of mademoiselle; nor could they persuade the lady herself to depart from her dignity, and to use any of those arts which might expedite the design. The earl of Bristol therefore, that the news might not come to his friend the chancellor of the exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the king's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the lady, "as a person that would exceedingly cultivate "the king's nature, and render him much more dex- "terous to advance his fortune:" and therefore he professed, "that he would[k] not dissuade his majesty "from gratifying so noble an affection;" and used many arguments to persuade the chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great presumption for interposing in an affair of so delicate a nature, as by his conduct might prove the ruin of the king, he seemed resolved to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the king's own inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her house; where those lords made their last effort; and his majesty, with great esteem of the lady's virtue and

[k] would] could

wisdom, the next day joined his family, and prosecuted his journey towards Flanders; his small step out of the way having raised a confident rumour in Paris that he was married to that lady.

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The king[l] had received a pass from the archduke for his passing through Flanders, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his journey; and[m] he found the gates of Cambray shut when he came thither, and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, "by reason that they understood the enemy was at hand, and intended to sit "down before that city;" of which there appeared in the face of all the people, and the governor himself, a terrible apprehension. But, upon recollection, his majesty was well received by the governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his house; who was the better composed by his majesty's assuring him, "that the French army was at a great dis"tance from him, and that his majesty had passed "through it the day before," (when marshal Turenne had drawn up the army to receive his majesty; the duke of York having there likewise taken his leave of the king,) "and, by the march that they "then appeared to make, there was great reason to "conclude that they had no design upon Cambray;" which good information made the king's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that supper, and lodging that night, his majesty had not the least address from the archduke, who was within

The king comes to Cambray in his journey.

The king passes through Flanders, without

[l] The king] Though the king [m] and] yet

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four or five leagues with his army, but passed, without the least notice taken of him, through those provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the Spaniard, lest their shewing any respect to the king in his passage through their country, should incense Cromwell against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

being taken notice of by the archduke.

His majesty intended to have made no stay, having received letters from the Hague, that his sister was already in her journey for the Spa. But, when he came to Mons, he found two gentlemen there, who came out of England with letters and instructions from those of his friends there who retained their old affections. By them his majesty was informed, that many of them recovered[n] new courage from the general discontent which possessed the kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual oppressions and tyranny they sustained. The taxes and impositions every day were augmented, and Cromwell, and his council, did greater acts of sovereignty than ever king and parliament had attempted. All gaols were full of such persons as contradicted their commands, and were suspected to wish well to the king; and there appeared such a rend among the officers of the army, that the protector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his security, so it proved of great reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the licence of the common soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures, and

At Mons he meets with messengers to him from his friends in England.

They notify to him the state of affairs in England, relating chiefly to Cromwell and his army.

[n] By them his majesty was informed, that many of them recovered] and recovered

reproaches of him, and his tyrannical proceedings, (which liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the affections and inclinations of other men, and for his service,) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were soldiers of this or that regiment, and under this or that captain, whose officers he knew well hated him, and who had their soldiers so much at their devotion, that they could lead them upon any enterprise: and he knew well that this seditious spirit possessed many of the principal officers both of horse and foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by Lambert, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic and undiscerned spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any reformation, (which the army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a council of war, where they knew they had many friends,) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferred it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own stars, he cashiered ten or a dozen officers, though not of the highest command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others, and most pernicious to him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touched by it, and that the men who had done so much mischief, being now

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reduced to a private condition, and like other particular men, did not only lose all their credit with the soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation towards all other men. This gave him more ease than he had before enjoyed, and raised his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like provocations, and gave him great credit and authority with those who had believed that many officers had a greater influence upon the army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some war in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a peace with the Dutch, he took greater care to increase his stores and magazines of arms and ammunition, and to build more ships than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great fleets in the winter, under officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and landmen were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal officers amongst these made great professions of duty to the king; and made tender of their service to his majesty by these gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a day's stay at Mons, to despatch those gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such commissions were prepared for them, and such instructions, as were desired by those who employed them. And his majesty gave nothing so much in charge to the messengers, and to all his friends in England with whom he had correspondence, as, "that they should "live quietly, without making any desperate or un-"reasonable attempt, or giving advantage to those "who watched them, to put them into prison, and "to ruin their estates and families." He told them,

The king advises his friends in England to be quiet.

"the vanity of imagining that any insurrection "could give any trouble to so well a formed and "disciplined army, and the destruction that must "attend such a rash[o] attempt: that, as he would "be always ready to venture his own person with "them in any reasonable and well formed under-"taking; so he would with patience attend God's "own time for such an opportunity; and, in the "mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient "place as he should find willing to receive him; of "which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very necessary that such commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able men, in expectation of two contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a schism in the army, as might divide it upon contrary interests into open contests, and declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal schism in the government[p]: the other, the death of Cromwell, which was conspired by the levellers, under several combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the army would remain united to the particular design of any single person, but that the parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by Cromwell, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme government.

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Lambert, who was unquestionably the second person in the command of the army, and was thought to be the first in their affections, had had no less hand than Cromwell himself in the dissolution[q] of

[o] rash] rash and uncounsellable
[p] government] parliament
[q] dissolution] odious dissolution

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that parliament, and was principal in raising him to be protector under the instrument of government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute command of an army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their masters. Then Monk, who had the absolute command in Scotland, and was his rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the government of Lambert, if he had no other title to it than his own presumption; and Harry Cromwell had made himself so popular in Ireland, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a man whom he knew to be his father's greatest enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in England who were the most wary and averse from any rash attempt, that they all wished that commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the king, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few men thought there was reason to despair.

The king having in this manner despatched those messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his friends, continued his journey from Mons to Namur; where he had a pleasant passage by water to Liege; from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the Spa, the next day after the princess royal, his beloved sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the joy of being out of France, where his majesty

The king arrives at the Spa, where he meets the princess of Orange.

had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his sister to stay longer from her own affairs in Holland, than the pretence of her health required, so the Spa was a place that nobody could stay longer in than the season for the waters continued; which ended with the summer.

The earl of Rochester returns to the king from Ratisbon.

The king no sooner arrived at the Spa, than the earl of Rochester returned thither to him from his negociation at Ratisbon; where he had remained [r] during the diet, without owning the character he might have assumed; yet performed all the offices with the emperor, and the other princes, with less noise and expense, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the German princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a king of the Romans was of vast expense to every one of them, and full of faction and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think of any business but what concerned themselves: yet in the close of the diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the elector of Mentz, who was esteemed the wisest and most practical prince of the empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the king, that assembly was prevailed with to grant a subsidy of four romer months; which is the measure of all taxes and impositions in Germany; that is, by the romer months, which every prince is to pay, and cause it to be col-

The king obtains a small subsidy from the diet in Germany.

[r] remained] wisely remained

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That part of the money that was paid to his majesty's use was managed with very good husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered

[s] elector palatine] elector of Heidelberg

family, which with his own expenses for his table, and his stable, and the board-wages, with which all his servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left France, amounted not to above six hundred pistoles a month; which expense was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into Holland in order to his return into England. This method[t] in the managery gave the king great ease; contented[u], and kept the family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected;[x] and was the more satisfactory, by the no care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the king had made in France.

The monthly expenses of the king's small family.

The king stayed not so long at the Spa as he meant to have done, the smallpox breaking out there; and one of the young ladies who attended upon the princess royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his majesty, and his sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the Spa to Aken, or Aquisgrane, an imperial and free town, governed by their own magistrates; where the king of the Romans ought to receive his first iron crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold waters of the Spa, and was a part of the prescription which the physicians had made to the princess, after she should have finished her waters[y] in the other place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those baths, the courts removed now thither; but in truth

The king removes to Aken from the Spa.

[t] This method] And as this method

[u] contented] so it contented

[x] expected;] *MS. adds:* all which was then imputed to the care and industry of the chancellor,

[y] her waters] her course

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with a design that the king might make his residence there, the town being large, and the country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the journeys in those countries are measured by hours) of Maestricht, the most pleasant seat within the dominions of the United Provinces. The magistrates received the king so civilly, that his majesty, who knew no other place where he was sure to be admitted, resolved to stay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient house, which belonged to one who was called a baron; whither he resolved to remove, as soon as his sister, who had taken the two great inns of the town for her's and the king's accommodation, should return into Holland.

Secretary Nicholas comes hither to the king, and the king gives him the signet.

Here the good old secretary Nicholas, who had remained in Holland from the time that, upon the treaty of Breda, the king had transported himself into Scotland, presented himself to his majesty; who received him very graciously, as a person of great merit and integrity from the beginning of the troubles, and always entirely trusted by the king his father. And now to him the king gave his signet; which for three years had been kept by the chancellor of the exchequer, out of friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in France to be admitted into the secretary's office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that Nicholas might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to Aken, desired the king to declare him to be his secretary; which was done; by

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which he had a fast friend added to the council, and of general reputation.

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The accounts the king receives here out of England.

When [z] the king remained at Aken, he received many expresses out of England, which informed him of the renewed courage of his friends there: that the faction and animosity which every day appeared between the officers of the army, and in Cromwell's council, upon particular interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either party would be glad to make a conjunction with the king's. In order thereunto, there was an intelligence entered into throughout the kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the king, to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The king renewed his commands to them, "not to flatter themselves "with vain imaginations; nor to give too easy credit "to appearances of factions and divisions; which "would always be counterfeited, that they might "the more easily discover the agitations and trans- "actions of those upon whom they looked as inve- "terate and irreconcileable enemies to the govern- "ment."

He gives the same advice as before to his friends.

The king receives an account from Scotland and Middleton.

News came from Scotland, that Middleton had some successes in the Highlands; and the Scottish lords who were prisoners in England assured the king, "that there was now so entire a union in that "nation for his service, that they wished his majesty "himself would venture thither:" and the lord Bal-

When] Whilst

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carris, who was with the king, and intrusted by that people, used much instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the advice seemed to be, men knew not how to contradict by proposing any thing that seemed more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, it was thought,[b] his majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his sovereignty.

The chancellor of the exchequer's discourse to the king concerning his going into Scotland.

The chancellor of the exchequer one day representing to the king the sadness[b] of his condition, and the general discourses of men, and, "that it "was his majesty's misfortune to be thought by "many not to be active enough towards his own "redemption, and to love his ease too much, in re- "spect both of his age and his fortune," desired him "to consider upon this news, and importunity from "Scotland, whether in those Highlands there might "not be such a safe retreat and residence, that he "might reasonably say, that with the affections of "that people, which had been always firm both to "his father and himself, he might preserve himself "in safety, though he could not hope to make any "advance, or recover the lower part of that king- "dom possessed by the enemy; and if so, whether "he might not expect the good hand of Providence, "by some revolution, more honourably there, than "in such corners of other princes' dominions, as he "might be forced to put himself into." His majesty discoursed very calmly of that country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of

The king's reply.

[b] it was thought,] *Not in MS.* [b] sadness] misery

the people, and their course of life; and how "impossible it was for him to live there with security. "or with health; that, if sickness did not destroy "him, which he had reason to expect from the ill "accommodation he must be there contented with, "he should in a short time be betrayed and given "up." And in this debate, he told him that melancholic conclusion, which David Lesley made at Warrington-bridge, which is mentioned before, when he told the king, "that those men would never fight;" which his majesty had never, he said, told to any body before. However, he said, "if his friends "would advise him to that expedition, he would "transport himself into the Highlands; though he "knew what would come of it, and that they would "be sorry for it:" which stopped the chancellor from ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not long after that news came, of Middleton's having been like to be given up to the enemy by the treachery of that people, and of the defeat his troops had received, and that he should be at last forced to quit that miserable country; which, however, he resolved to endure, as long as should be possible.

The season of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the princess royal to return to the Hague, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some act prejudicial to her and her son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind differences between her and the princess dowager, mother of the deceased prince of Orange, a lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own interest. The air of Aken, and the ill smell of the baths, made that place less agreeable to the king than at first he be-

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fame it got by the siege, they came the next day to Cologne; where they were received with all the respect, pomp, and magnificence, that could be expected, or the city could perform. The house, which the harbingers of the princess had taken for her reception, served likewise to accommodate the king; and the magistrates performed their respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

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In September the king and his sister come to Cologne.

Cologne is a city most pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Rhine; of a large extent, and fair and substantial buildings; and encompassed with a broad and excellent rampart, upon which are fair walks of great elms, where two coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the walls of Antwerp, but rather superior, because this goes round the town. The government is under the senate and consuls; of whom there was one then consul, who said, "he was descended[c] from "father to son of a patrician Roman family, that "had continued from the time the colony was first "planted there." It had never been otherwise subject to the bishops, than in some points which refer to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; which they sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the magistrates always oppose: and that gives the subject of the discourse of jealousies, and contests, between their prince and them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The elector never resides there, but keeps his court at his castle of Bonne, near four miles from thence. And that elector, who was of the house of Bavaria, and a melancholic and peevish man, had not then

[c] who said, "he was descended] who was descended

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been in the city in very many years. The number of churches and religious houses is incredible; insomuch as it was then averred, "that the religious "persons and churchmen made up a full moiety of "the inhabitants of the town;" and their interest and authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the king came thither, they expelled all those of the protestant religion, contrary to the advice of the wisest of the magistrates; who confessed "that "the trade of the town was much decayed thereby, "and the poverty thereof much increased." And it is very possible, that the vast number and unskilful zeal of the ecclesiastical and religious persons may at some time expose that noble city to the surprise of some powerful prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoyed privileges. And there was, in that very time of the king's stay there, a design by the French to have surprised it; Schomberg lying many days in wait there, to have performed that service; which was very hardly prevented. The people are so much more civil than they were reported to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the laws of society and conversation better than any other people of Germany. To the king they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at Aken, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that city could yield him, and of all the affection and duty they could pay him; which his majesty most willingly accepted; and giving order for the payment of the rent of the house he had taken at Aken, which he had not at all used, and other disbursements, which

The citizens invite the king to reside there.

the master of the house had made to make it the more convenient for his majesty, and likewise sending very gracious letters to the magistrates of that town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his family which remained there, to attend him at Cologne; where he declared he would spend that winter.

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The king fixes there.

As soon as the king came to Cologne, he sent to the neighbour princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that money, which by the grant of the diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his majesty; which though it amounted to no great sum, yet was of great conveniency to his support. The duke of Newburgh, whose court was at Düsseldorp, a small day's journey from Cologne, and by which the princess royal was to pass if she made use of the river, sent his proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of entertaining the king and his sister in his palace, as "she returned." However he forebore to make any solemn invitation, without which they could not make the visit, till some ceremonies were first adjusted; upon which that nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other people in Europe. He who gave the intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his majesty's and her royal highness's arrival in those parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of moment, and the rest were formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to.[d] The one was, "that the king, at

[d] were consented to.] were not consented to.

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"their first meeting, should at least once treat the "duke with *altesse*;" the other, "that the duke "might salute the princess royal;" and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the king and his sister were naturally enough inclined to new sights and festivities; and the king thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the German princes: and among them, there were few more considerable in their dominions, and none in their persons, than the duke of Newburgh; who reckoned himself upon the same level with the electors. And the king was informed, "that the emperor himself always treated him with *altesse*;" and therefore his majesty made no scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the princess royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserved, from the time of her coming into Holland, that the old prince of Orange, father of her husband, would never pretend to it: yet that ceremony depending only upon the custom of countries,[e] and the duke of Newburgh being a sovereign prince, inferior to none in Germany, and his ambassador always covering before the emperor, the king thought fit, and her royal highness consented, that the duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any noise, the king, about the middle of October, accompanied his sister by water to Dusseldorp; where they arrived between three and four of the clock in the afternoon; and found the duke and his duchess

[e] custom of countries,] *MS. adds:* and every marshal of France having the privilege in that kingdom to salute the daughters of the king,

waiting for them on the side of the water; where after having performed their mutual civilities and compliments, the king, and the princess royal, and the duke and the duchess of Newburgh, went into the duke's coach, and the company into the coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the castle, that was very near; where his majesty was conducted into his quarter, and the princess into her's, the duke and the duchess immediately retiring into their own quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the king again till above half an hour before supper, and after the king and princess had performed their devotion.

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The castle is a very princely house, having been the seat of the duke of Cleve; which duchy, together with that of Juliers, having lately fallen to heirs females, (whereof the mothers of the elector of Brandenburgh, and duke of Newburgh, were two,) when all the pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of Dusseldorp, by agreement, afterwards remained still to Newburgh; whose father, being of the reformed religion in the late contention, found the house of Brandenburgh too strong for him, by having the prince of Orange and the States his fast friends; and thereupon, that he might have a strong support from the emperor and king of Spain, became Roman catholic, and thereby had the assistance he expected. At the same time he put his son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits; by which education, the present duke was with more than ordinary bigotry zealous in the Roman religion.

He was a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the best

BOOK XIV. 1655. bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough restrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished prince, and became himself very well, having a good person and graceful motion [f]. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the sister of the former, and the then king of Poland; who leaving only a daughter, he was now newly married to the daughter of the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who upon her marriage became Roman catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language and vivacity, to contribute to the entertainment; so that she was rather a spectator of the festivity, than a part of it [g]. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his majesty and his sister and the duke and the duchess only sat: the meals, according to the custom of Germany, very long, with several sorts of music, both of instruments and voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his majesty was accustomed to hear. There was wine in abundance, but no man pressed to drink [h], if he called not for it; and the duke himself an enemy to all excesses.

After two days spent in this manner, in which time the king made a great friendship with the duke,

[f] graceful motion] *MS. adds:* which that nation seldom attain to

[g] part of it] *MS. adds:* and confirmed the king in his aversion from ever marrying a German lady

[h] pressed to drink] so much as wished to drink

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which always continued, they parted; and there being near the river, distant another short day's journey, a handsome open town of good receipt, called Santen, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was assigned to the elector of Brandenburgh, the king resolved to accompany his sister thither; where having spent that night, the next morning her royal highness, after an unwilling farewell, prosecuted her journey to Holland, and his majesty returned by horse to Cologne; where the same house was prepared for him in which he and his sister had inhabited, whilst she stayed there. And by this time the end of October was come; which, in those parts, is more than the entrance into winter. The magistrates of the city renewed their civilities, and professions of respect to the king; which they always made good; nor could his majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and he, being well refreshed with the divertisements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet; which he employed in reading and studying both the Italian and French languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, (for, as is said before, he had no coach, nor would suffer his sister to leave him one,) and sometimes rid into the fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The king brings his sister to Santen in the duchy of Cleve: where they part; and the king returns to Cologne.

His way of life there.

The nuncio of the pope resided in that city, and performed all respects to his majesty: he was a proper and grave man, an Italian bishop, who never made the least scruple at his majesty's enjoying the liberty of his chapel, and the exercise of his religion,

BOOK XIV. 1655. though it was very public; so that in truth his majesty was not without any respect that could be shewed to him in those parts, save that the elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that city; though it proceeded as much from the sullenness and moroseness of his nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small quota, which had been granted to the king by the diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other prince, or gentleman. This elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the elector palatine[i], so nearly allied to the crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the king's being so near him, or to send a messenger to salute him.

An account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert the duke of Gloucester in his religion.

Within a short time after his majesty's return to Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From Paris, his majesty heard, that the queen had put away the tutor he had left to attend his brother the duke of Gloucester; who remained at Paris, upon her majesty's desire, that he might learn his exercises. The queen had conferred with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, in respect of the king his brother's fortune, "and the little hope that appeared that his majesty

[i] elector palatine] elector of Heidelberg

"could ever be restored, at least if he did not him-"self become Roman catholic; whereby the pope, "and other princes of that religion, might be united "in his quarrel; which they would never undertake "upon any other obligation: that it was therefore "fit that the duke, who had nothing to support him, "nor could expect any thing from the king, should "be instructed in the Roman catholic religion; that "so, becoming a good catholic, he might be capable "of those advantages which her majesty should be "able to procure for him: that the queen of France "would hereupon confer abbeys and benefices upon "him to such a value, as would maintain him in "that splendour as was suitable to his birth; that, "in a little time, the pope would make him a car-"dinal; by which he might be able to do the king "his brother much service, and contribute to his re-"covery; whereas, without this, he must be exposed "to great necessity and misery, for that she was "not able any longer to give him maintenance." She found the duke more resolute[k] than she expected from his age; he was so well instructed in his religion, that he disputed against the change; urged the precepts he had received from the king his father, and his dying in the faith he had prescribed to him; put her majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the king his brother at parting; and acknowledged, "that he had obliged himself to his ma-"jesty, that he would never change his religion; and "therefore besought her majesty, that she would "not farther press him, at least till he should inform "the king of it." The queen well enough knew

[k] resolute] obstinate

the king's mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the authority of a mother, and removed his tutor from him; and committed the duke to the care of abbot Montague her almoner; who, having the pleasant abbey of Pontoise, entertained his highness there, sequestered from all resort of such persons as might confirm him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the king received this advertisement, which both the duke and his tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his religion; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in England, and especially of those of the reformed religion abroad, that his majesty was in truth a papist: and his leaving his brother behind him in France, where it was evident the queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in France, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the marquis of Ormond with all possible expedition into France; who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his commands. He writ a letter of complaint to the queen, of her having proceeded in

*The king sends the marquis of Ormond into France for him.*

that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her "to discontinue the prosecu-"tion of it; and to suffer his brother the duke of "Gloucester to repair with the marquis of Ormond "to his presence." He commanded the duke "not "to consent to any propositions which should be "made to him for the change of his religion; and "that he should follow the advice of the marquis of "Ormond, and accompany him to Cologne." And he directed the marquis of Ormond "to let Mr. "Montague, and whosoever of the English should "join with him, know, that they should expect such "a resentment from his majesty, if they did not "comply with his commands, as should be suitable "to his honour, and to the affront they put upon "him."

The marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the king made with her, and imputed all the king's sharpness and resolution to the counsel he received from the marquis and the chancellor of the exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the duke, both against the king's and his own will; and the duke, upon the receipt of the king's letter, declared, "that he would obey his "majesty;" and the abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the king, if he persisted in advising the queen not to comply with his majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days' deliberation, the queen expressing very much displeasure at the king's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a mother, told the marquis, "that the duke might

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"dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she "would not concern herself farther, nor see him "any more." And thereupon the duke put himself into the hands of the marquis; who immediately removed him from Pontoise to the house of the lord Hatton,[l] an English lord, who lived then in Paris; where he remained for some days, until the marquis could borrow money (which was no easy matter) to defray the journey to the king. And then they quickly left Paris; and shortly after came to the king; who was extremely satisfied[m] with the marquis's negociation and success; and kept his brother always with him, till the time that he returned into England, the queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

The marquis brings the duke to Cologne.

Innocent the Tenth was now dead; who had outlived the understanding and judgment he had been formerly master of, and lost all the reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as Jehoram, *departed without being desired.* He had fomented the rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland; whither he had sent a light-headed nuncio, who did much mischief to his majesty's service, as hath been touched before. The world was in great expectation who should succeed him, when, one day, the duke of Newburgh sent a gentleman to the king to bring him the news that cardinal Chigi was chosen pope; "of which," the duke said, "his majesty had "great cause to be glad;" which the king understood not. But, the next day, the duke himself came to the king, and told him, "that he came to "congratulate with his majesty for the election of "the new pope, who called himself Alexander the

The duke of Newburgh sends the king word, that cardinal Chigi was chosen pope; and his discourse with his majesty concerning making some application to the pope for supply and assistance.

[l] the lord Hatton,] *Not in MS.*

[m] extremely satisfied] infinitely delighted

"Seventh; and who," he said, "he was confident, "would do him great service;" and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between him and the new pope, when he was nuncio at Cologne, some years before: when they two conferring together (" as;" he said, "there was great confidence and "friendship between them") of the rebellion in England, and of the execrable murder of the late king, the nuncio broke out into great passion, even with tears, and said, "it was a monstrous thing that the "two crowns should weary and spend each other's "strength and spirits in so unjust and groundless a "war, when they had so noble an occasion to unite "their power to revenge that impious murder, in "which the honour and the lives of all kings were "concerned; and," he said, "the pope was con"cerned never to let either of them to be quiet, till "he had reconciled them, and obliged all Christian "kings and states, without consideration of any dif"ference in religion, to join together for the resto"ration of the king; which would be the greatest "honour the pope could obtain in this world. All "which," he said, "the nuncio spoke with so much "warmth and concernment, that he could not doubt, "but that, now God had raised him to that chair, "he hoped, for that end, he would remember his "former opinion, and execute it himself; being," he said, "a man of the most public heart, and the most "superior to all private designs, that the world "had:" the duke taking great delight to remember many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a man, as he was generally believed to be for the first two years of his reign, till he manifested his affections with more ingenuity. The duke de-

BOOK XIV. 1655. sired his majesty to consider, "whether there might "not be somewhat he might reasonably wish from "the pope; and if it were not fit to be proposed as "from his majesty, he would be willing to promote "it in his own name, having, he thought, some in"terest in his holiness. And," he said, "he was "resolved to send a person purposely to Rome with "his congratulation, and to render [n] his obedience "to the pope; and that he would instruct that per"son in whatsoever his majesty should wish: and "though he could not hope, that any greater mat"ter would be done towards his majesty's restora"tion, till the peace should be effected between the "two crowns, (which he knew the pope would la"bour in till he had brought it to pass,) yet he "could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of "his holiness, his majesty would receive some sup"ply towards his better support; which, for the "present, was all that could be expected: that the "person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, "who was at that present in Newburgh; but he "had, or would send for him: that though he was "a religious man, yet he was a person of that ex"perience, temper, and wisdom, that he had in"trusted him in affairs not only of the greatest se"crecy, but in negociations of the greatest impor"tance; in which he had always behaved himself "with singular prudence and judgment: and he as"sured his majesty he was equal to any trust; and "if, upon what he had said and offered, his majesty "thought he might be of use to him in his journey, "he would send him to Cologne as soon as he came,

[n] render] tender

"that he might attend upon his majesty, and receive any commands he would vouchsafe to lay [o] upon him." BOOK XIV. 1655.

Though the king had in truth very little hope that the new pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the maxim, with which Innocent had answered those who would have disposed him to supply the king with some money, "that he could not, with a good conscience, apply "the patrimony of the church to the assistance and "support of heretics," would be as current divinity with Alexander, and all his successors, yet he could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness of the duke of Newburgh, and could not conclude how far his interposition might prevail upon a temper and constitution so refined, and without those dregs which others had used to carry about them to that promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments which were due for the overtures, his majesty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his wis-"dom, to do those offices with the new pope as [p] he "thought fit, since he could expect nothing but "upon that account; and that he would do any "thing on his part which was fit for him to do, and "which should be thought of moment to facilitate "the other pretences." Whereupon the duke told him, "that the bloody laws in England against the "Roman catholic religion made a very great noise "in the world; and that his majesty was generally "understood to be a prince of a tender and merci-"ful nature, which would not take delight in the "executing so much cruelty; and therefore he con-

[o] lay] impose [p] as] which

BOOK XIV. 1655. "ceived it might be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, that when it should "please God to restore his majesty to his government, he would never suffer those laws to be executed, but would cause them to be repealed; "which generous and pious resolution made known "to the pope, would work very much upon him, "and dispose him to make an answerable return to "his majesty." The king answered, "that his highness might very safely undertake on his behalf, "that if it should be in his power, it should never "be in his will, to execute those severe laws: but "that it was not in his power absolutely to repeal "them; and it would be less in his power to do it, "if he declared that he had a purpose to do it: "therefore, that must be left to time; and it might "reasonably be presumed, that he would not be "backward to do all of that kind which he should "find himself able to do; and the declaration which "he then made, his majesty said, that he would be "ready to make to the person the duke meant to "send, if he came to him:" which was acknowledged to be as much as could be desired.

Germany is the part[q] of the world, where the Jesuits are looked upon to have the ascendant over all other men in the deepest mysteries of state and policy, insomuch as there is not a prince's court of the Roman catholic religion, wherein a man is held to be a good courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a wise man, who hath not a Jesuit to his confessor; which may be one of the reasons, that the policy of that nation is so different from, and so much under-

[q] the part] the only part

valued by the other politic parts of the world. And therefore it is the less to be wondered at that this duke, who had himself extraordinary qualifications, retained that reverence for those who had taught him when he was young, that he believed them to grow, and to be improved as fast as he, and so to be still abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jesuit to be a very wise man; and, it may be, knew, that he would think so to whom he was sent: and as soon as he came to him, he sent him to the king to be instructed and informed of his majesty's pleasure. The man had a very good aspect, and less vanity and presumption than that society use to have, and seemed desirous to merit from the king by doing him service; but had not the same confidence he should do it, as his master had. And when he returned from Rome, he brought nothing with him from the pope but general good wishes for the king's restoration, and sharp complaints against cardinal Mazarine for being deaf to all overtures of peace; and that till then all attempts to serve his majesty would be vain and ineffectual: and concerning any supply of money, he told the duke, that the pope had used the same adage that his predecessor had done; and so that intrigue was determined.

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The effect of this.

The rest and quiet that the king proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his friends in England; who, notwithstanding all his majesty's commands, and injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to his service, were so pricked and

An insurrection designed in England by some of the king's party.

BOOK XIV. 1655. stung by the insolence of their enemies, and the uneasiness of their own condition and fortune, that they could not rest. They sent expresses every day to Cologne for more commissions and instructions, and made an erroneous judgment of their own strength and power, by concluding[r] that all who hated the present government would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the king, "that they had "made sufficient provision of arms and ammunition, "and had so many persons engaged to appear upon "any day that should be assigned, that they only "desired his majesty would appoint that day; and "that they were so united, that even the discovery "before the day, and the clapping up many persons "in prison, which they expected, should not break "the design." The king doubted[s] they would be deceived; and that, though the persons who sent those expresses were very honest men, and had served well in the war, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them; for, as many of his party were too restless and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the king's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his majesty, and those he assigned to that office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they

[r] by concluding] and concluded [s] doubted] knew well enough

would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of wit, as much as want of honesty; and so men were cast into prison, and kept there, upon general jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the king; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate were by the others reproached with being less affectionate, and to want loyalty as much as courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same account, were oppressed and torn in pieces by one and the same enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater animosity between themselves, than against their common adversary: nor could the king reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

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Though the messengers who were sent were addressed only to the king himself, and to the chancellor of the exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no notice was taken or advertisement sent by the many spies, who were suborned to give intelligence of any one express that was sent to Cologne, yet they had commonly some friend or acquaintance in the court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or

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seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a man who liked not the most extravagant undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The messengers, which were sent this winter to Cologne, (who, I say still, were honest men, and sent from those who were such,) proposed to the king, as they had formerly done, "that when they were in arms, "and had provided a place where his majesty might "land safely, he would then be with them, that "there might be no dispute upon command:" and in the spring they sent to him, "that the day was "appointed, the eighteenth of April, when the ris- "ing would be general, and many places seized "upon, and some declare for the king, which were "in the hands of the army:" for they still pretended, and did believe, "that a part of the army "would declare against Cromwell at least, though "not for the king: that Kent was united to a man; "Dover-castle would be possessed, and the whole "county in arms upon that day; and therefore, that "his majesty would vouchsafe to be in some place, "concealed, upon the sea-coast, which it was very "easy for him to be on that day; from whence, "upon all being made good that was undertaken, "and full notice given to his majesty that it was so, "he might then, and not before, transport himself "to that part which he thought to be in the best "posture to receive him, and might give such other "directions to the rest as he found necessary:" and even all these particulars were communicated in

Propositions to the king to this purpose from England.

confidence by the messengers to their friends who were near the king, and who again thought it but reasonable to raise the spirits of their friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the king's affairs were in England; and "that his "friends were in so good a posture throughout the "kingdom, that they feared not that any discovery "might be made to Cromwell, being ready to own "and justify their counsels with their swords:" so that all this quickly became more than whispered throughout the court; and, "that the king was only "expected to be nearer England, how disguised so- "ever, that he might quickly put himself into the "head of the army that would be ready to receive "him, whereby all emulations about command might "be prevented, or immediately taken away; and if "his majesty should now neglect this opportunity, "it might easily be concluded, that either he was "betrayed, or that his counsels were conducted by "men of very shallow capacities and understand- "ing."

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How weakly and improbably soever these preparations were adjusted, the day was positively appointed, and was so near, at the time when his majesty had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to send orders to contradict it: and he foresaw, that if any thing should be attempted without success, it would be imputed to his not being at a distance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult nor hazardous to his majesty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cause, or retire back to Cologne, if there were nothing to do; and all this with so little noise, that

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The king approves of the day of rising.

his absence should scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the messenger returned with the king's approbation of the day, and direction, "that, as soon "as the day should be past, an express should be "directed to Flushing at the sign of the city of "Rouen," (a known inn in that town,) "to inquire "for an Englishman," (whose name was given him,) "who should be able to inform him, whither he "should repair to speak with the king."

Before the messenger's departure, or the king's resolution was taken, the earl of Rochester, who was always jealous that somebody would be general before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in arms, desired the king, "that he would permit him to go over in dis-"guise, to the end, that getting[t] to London, which "was very easy, he might, upon advising with the "principal persons engaged, of whom there was "none who had not been commanded by him, or "was not inferior to him in command, assist them "in their enterprise, and make the best of that "force which they could bring together: and if he "found that they were not in truth competently "provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by "his advice and authority, compose them to expect "a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to "give over all inconsiderate attempts; and there "would be little danger in his withdrawing back "again to his majesty."

The earl of Rochester obtains leave of the king to go

With this errand the earl left Cologne, under pretence of pursuing his business with the German princes, upon the donative of the diet; for which

[t] getting] finding his way

he used to make many journeys; and nobody suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into Flanders, he was not at all reserved; but in the hours of good fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any body he did believe would keep him company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding sir Joseph Wagstaff, who had served the king in the last war very honestly, and was then watching at the sea-coast to take the first opportunity to transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general insurrection, (which all letters to all places mentioned as a matter resolved on,) Rochester frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a bark at Dunkirk; and, without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at London: but many of those who should have been in arms were seized upon, and secured in several prisons.

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into England in order thereunto.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff goes with him.

The messenger being despatched, the king, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left Cologne very early in the morning, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, and one groom to look to their horses: nor was it known to any body, but to the chancellor and the secretary Nicholas, whither the king was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive people, as they thought fit. The day before the king went, sir John Mennes, and John Nicholas, eldest son to the secretary, were sent into Zealand, to stay there till they should receive farther orders; the former of them being the person designed to be at the sign of the Rouen in Flushing, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the king's hand that should be

The king goes from Cologne to Zealand.

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1655. There was a gentleman who lived in Middleburg, and of one of the best families and the best fortune there, who had married an English lady, who had been brought up in the court of the queen of Bohemia, and was the daughter of a gentleman of a very noble family, who had been long an officer in Holland. The king had made this Dutchman a baronet; and some, who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his majesty might secretly repose himself in his house, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his majesty being first assured of this, made his journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that house, he gave present notice to sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his majesty, upon any occasion. Upon his first arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the messenger who had "been despatched from Cologne, met with cross "winds and accidents in his return, which had been "his misfortune likewise in his journey thither; so "that he came not so soon to London as was expected; whereupon some conceived that the king "did not approve the day, and therefore excused "themselves from appearing at the time; others "were well content with the excuse, having discerned, with the approach of the day, that they "had embarked themselves in a design of more difficulty than was at first apprehended; and some "were actually seized upon, and imprisoned, by "which they were incapable of performing their

"promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the king in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a post where he might securely rest, to expect what the earl of Rochester's presence, of whose being in London he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the chancellor of the exchequer, according to order, was come to Breda; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the king.

There cannot be a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men, and that such signal and notable[u] persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being nobody intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose trade it was for great wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The earl of Rochester consulted with great freedom in London with the king's friends; and found that the persons imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do; and that the same spirit still possessed those who were at liberty. The design in Kent appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin upon; but he was persuaded, (and he was

[u] notable] notorious

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very credulous,) that in the north there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of York; nor had the army many troops in those parts. In the west likewise there appeared to be a strong combination, in which many gentlemen were engaged, whose agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that sir Joseph Wagstaff might be authorized to be in the head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The earl of Rochester liked the countenance of the north better; and sent Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gentleman, and nobly allied in those parts, to prepare the party there; and appointed a day and place for the rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that sir Joseph Wagstaff should go into the west; who, upon conference with those of that country, likewise appointed their rendezvous upon a fixed day, to be within two miles of Salisbury. It was an argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the judges were to keep their assizes in that city, and where the sheriff and principal gentlemen of the county were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the earl of Rochester, who knew where the king was, took care to advertise his majesty: who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a short time after they were so improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secrecy transport himself into England; for which he did expect a sudden occasion.

arl of chester igns for north; l Wag-ff into west.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff had been formerly major general of the foot in the king's western army, a man generally beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counsel, a stout man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableness in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with those, who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed, left London, and went to some of his friends' houses in the country, near the place, that he might assist the preparations as much as was possible. Those of Hampshire were not so punctual at their own rendezvous, as to be present at that near Salisbury at the hour; however, Wagstaff, and they of Wiltshire, appeared according to expectation. Penruddock, a gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, Hugh Grove, Jones,[x] and other persons of condition, were there with a body of near two hundred horse well armed, which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the western association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit Salisbury in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their numbers both in foot and horse; with which the town then abounded: nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the city about five of

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The rising at Salisbury.

[x] Jones,] *Not in MS.*

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the clock in the morning: they appointed some officers, of which they had plenty, to cause all the stables to be locked up, that all the horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the gaols, that all there might attend their benefactors. They kept a good body of horse upon the market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the judges and the sheriff, who were yet in their beds, and to bring them into the market-place with their several commissions, not caring to seize upon the persons of any others.

All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their countenance. When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged, (who were half dead already,) having well considered, with the policy which men in such actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, choosing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his friends, whereby their scrupulous consciences might have been confirmed, many of the country gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that

the major general durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the judges, and, having taken their commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the king; which being otherwise done, they likewise prevailed with him rather to keep the sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honester man out of the hands of their enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the commands of their general; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their commander in chief; and as it would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their swords.

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The noise of this action was very great both in and out of the kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness, it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the army; which was known to be so great, that it was thought[y] Cromwell durst not draw the whole army to a general rendezvous, out of appre-

[y] it was thought] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XIV. 1655. hension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a body brought together as might oblige Cromwell to make the army, or a considerable part of it, to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his authority, which they abhorred. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remained with that party at Salisbury for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their numbers would have much increased, and their friends farther west must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the army's marching against them. Cromwell himself was alarmed ʳ; he knew well the distemper of the kingdom, and in his army, and now when he saw such a body gathered together without any noise, that durst in the middle of the kingdom enter into one of the chief cities of it, when his judges and all the civil power of that county was in it, and take them prisoners, and proclaim the king in a time of full peace, and when no man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprise could be undertaken without a universal conspiracy; in which his own army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The unfortunate issue of it.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after

ʳ alarmed] amazed

their first action; and were in such disorder and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their friends out of Hampshire, (who were, to the number of two or three hundred horse, upon their way, and would have been at Salisbury that night,) upon pretence that they were expected in Dorsetshire, they left the town, and took the sheriff with them, about two of the clock in the afternoon: but were so weary of their day's labour, and their watching the night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that party carried it in hope of receiving good offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march westward. They from Hampshire, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving Salisbury, would not follow, but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left Wiltshire, likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their journey into Devonshire, without meeting any who would join with them, horse and men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single troop of horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an officer of no credit in the war, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather entreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those Wagstaff, quitted their horses, and found shelter in some honest men's houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to transport them into the parts beyond the seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. Penrud-

BOOK XIV. 1655. dock, Mr. Grove, and most of the rest, were taken prisoners, upon promise given by the officer that their lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no authority to make good. For Cromwell no sooner heard of his cheap victory, than he sent judges away with a new commission of oyer and terminer, and order to proceed with the utmost severity against the offenders. But Roles, his chief justice, who had so luckily escaped at Salisbury, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those men in the face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of law, whether the men could be legally condemned; upon which Cromwell, shortly after, turned him out of his office, having found others who executed his commands. Penruddock and Grove lost their heads at Exeter; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they rendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their duty and loyalty to the king: many were sent to Salisbury, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were fathers, and sons, and brothers, that the butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent slaves to the Barbadoes; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the west; and Cromwell secured without the help of his army; which he saw, by the countenance it then shewed when

they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay. BOOK XIV. 1655.

The design of the north, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The earl of Rochester, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and looked upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his journey from London, with a friend or two, into Yorkshire at the time appointed; and found such an appearance of gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserved his patience. There had been some mistake[a] in the notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a rendezvous, he should be well attended. Marmaduke Darcy had spent his time very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having houses, where he might be well concealed, and the country generally wished well to the king, and to those who concerned themselves in his affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and asked many questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnished reasons against entering upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they seemed to have gone[b] too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill success at Salisbury;

The ill success likewise of the design in the north.

[a] There had been some mistake] It appeared there had been some mistake

[b] they seemed to have gone] they had gone

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yet he did not think the force which the gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: so he resolved to stay no longer; the gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good will to each other, the earl returning through by-roads to London, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the king notice of the hopelessness of affairs. If he had not been a man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into conferences with any strangers he met, or joined with.

The earl of Rochester returns to London; whence he advises the king of the ill success.

When he returned from the north, he lodged at Aylesbury; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the town, of which he seemed to take some survey, and had asked many questions of a country fellow who was there, (that ground in truth belonging to his own wife,) the next justice of peace had notice of it; who being a man devoted to the government, and all that country very ill affected always to the king, and the news of Salisbury, and the proclamation thereupon, having put all men upon their guard, came himself to the inn where the earl was; and being informed, that there were only two gentlemen above at supper, (for sir Nicholas Armorer was likewise with the earl, and had accompanied him in that journey,) he went into the stable; and upon view of the horses found they were the same which

An accident that befell him in his return.

had been observed in the ground. The justice commanded the keeper of the inn, one Gilvy, who, besides that he was a person notoriously affected to the government, was likewise an officer, "that he "should not suffer those horses, nor the persons to "whom they belonged, to go out of the house, till "he, the said justice, came thither in the morning; "when he would examine the gentlemen, who they "were, and from whence they came." The earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the master of the house, and nobody being present but his companion, he told him, "he would put his life "into his hands; which he might destroy or pre-"serve: that he could get nothing by the one, but "by the other he should have profit, and the good "will of many friends, who might be able to do him "good." Then he told him who he was; and, as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a man of a very good understanding, and might consider the changes which followed after, and in which this service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their escape: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the justice for their horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty servant in another stable; who, about midnight, conducted

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them into London-way; which put them in safety. The inn-keeper was visited in the morning by the justice; whom he carried into the stable, where the horses still stood, he having still kept the key in his own pocket, not making any doubt of the persons whilst he kept their horses; but the inn-keeper confessed they were escaped out of his house in the night, how or whither he could not imagine. The justice threatened loud; but the inn-keeper was of that unquestionable fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth, that Cromwell more suspected the connivance of the justice, (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the persons till the morning,) than the integrity of a man so well known as the inn-keeper was. The earl remained in London whilst the inquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for Flanders; and so returned to Cologne.

The king leaves Zealand; and returns to Cologne.

As soon as the king received advertisement of the ill successes in England, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left Zealand, and, returning by Breda, stayed in a dorp near the town, till the chancellor of the exchequer attended him; and then returned with all speed to Cologne; where his little court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest gentlemen in England, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his majesty's judgment: and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his friends from thence advertised, "that all his counsels were dis-

"covered; and that Cromwell had perfect intelligence of whatsoever his majesty resolved to do, "and of all he said himself; so that it would not be "safe for any body to correspond with him, or to "meddle in his affairs or concernments: that his "coming into Zealand, and his continuance there, "was known to Cromwell, with all the particulars "of his motion; that many persons of condition "were seized upon, and imprisoned for having a design to possess themselves of some towns, and "places of strength; which intelligence could not "be given but from Cologne;" implying, "that the "miscarriage in all the last designs proceeded wholly "from the treason of some persons near his majesty." The king did not at all wonder that Cromwell, and his instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was resolved or thought of at Cologne; but that any men who were really devoted to his service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

The discovery of the treachery of Manning; and a particular account of it.

Whilst he was in this agony, and immediately after his return to Cologne, a discovery was made of a villainy, that made him excuse his friends in England for their jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an imposture of such a nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one Manning, a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman catholic in the family of the marquis of Worcester, whose page he had been. His father, of that religion likewise, had been a colonel in the king's army; and was slain at the battle of Alresford; where this young man, be-

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ing then a youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left arm and shoulder. This gentleman came to Cologne shortly after the king came thither first, and pretended, "that he had sold the incumbered fortune "his father had left him; upon which, he had "enough to maintain him, and resolved to spend it "in waiting upon the king, till his majesty should "be able to raise an army; in which he hoped to "have an opportunity to revenge his father's blood;" with many discourses of that nature; and he brought a letter to Dr. Earles from his uncle Manning, who was well known to him, to commend his nephew to his conversation. He was a handsome man, had store of good clothes, and plenty of money; which, with the memory of his father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the company that was there. He knew most of the king's party in England, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them; and had every week the Diurnal, and the news of London, which seldom else came so far as Cologne. He associated himself most with the good-fellows, and eat in their company, being well provided for the expense. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the earl of Rochester, and told him, "that all the king's "party looked upon him as the general who must "govern and command them; for which they were "very impatient: that he himself would be ready "to run his fortune, and attend him into England; "and that he had two hundred good men listed, "who would appear well mounted and armed, when-"ever he should require them; and that he knew "where good sums of money lay ready to be applied "to that service." The earl was ravished with this

discourse, and looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to advance his designs; and asked him, "whether he had been with the chancellor of the "exchequer, and communicated all this to him?" He said, "he had, at his first coming to town, wait"ed upon the chancellor; and intended to have "spoken of this, and much more than he had yet "spoken, if he had been vacant, or willing to hear: "but he seemed to him too reserved; which he im"puted then to some business that possessed him, "and therefore made him a second visit; when he "found him with the same wariness, and without a "desire to be informed by him concerning the af"fairs of that kingdom; so that he resolved to visit "him no more."

In the end, he told the earl, "that he would im"part a secret to him of the last importance, and "which he had not yet had opportunity to inform "the king of, and, he did believe, it would be the "same thing to impart it to his lordship as to his "majesty himself: the sum was, that he was trusted "by the young earl of Pembroke, whose affections "were entire for his majesty, to assure the king of "the same; and that though it would not be safe "for him to appear in the head and beginning of an "insurrection, he would advance it as much as if he "were there in person; and because he knew the "west was better prepared to begin the work than "any other part of the kingdom, he had caused "three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept "ready at Wilton, which should be delivered to any "man, who, in the king's name, should require it of "such a man," (naming a person, who was known

BOOK XIV. 1655. to be much trusted by that earl,) "upon delivery of "a private token he produced out of his pocket," (which was a clean piece of paper, sealed with three impressions of an antique head in hard wax,) "which," he said, "the earl required him to present "to the king when he thought it might be season- "able." He added, "that he would be glad to be "himself in that first engagement, and so to be pre- "sent when that token should be delivered; yet he "considered, that he was not enough known to have "such a secret imparted to him, as the time of such "an action ought to be; and therefore, if it pleased "the king, he would presently deliver that token "into his lordship's hands; who, he was confident, "would be the first that would have opportunity to "employ it."

The earl had the journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a treasure as this would much advance the service. He made haste to inform the king of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the token. To that purpose, he brought the man to the king; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He made a large relation to the king of what the earl of Pembroke had commanded him to say, and presented the token to his majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the king had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. As soon as he left the king, the earl brought him to the chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want

of courtesy to him before; which he wondered at; BOOK XIV. 1655.
for it was very true that Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his father, and most of his family, and was glad to see him frequently at prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman catholic; and the young man had seemed much pleased with the reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that relation concerning the earl of Pembroke, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the king, the chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the chancellor was much reproached for not treating a person of so much merit, who had lost his father, and been himself maimed in the king's service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary civility. But the chancellor's knowledge of the earl of Pembroke, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time master of much money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a person who was most trusted by the earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the king, "that he doubted Manning had made that part of "the story to make himself the more welcome;" which his majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of

BOOK XIV. that story[c], nor the least apprehension that he was a spy.

1655. When it was publicly known[d] that the king was absent from Cologne, at that time that he made his journey to Zealand, in the manner that is mentioned before, the earl of Rochester being departed from thence some time before, Mr. Manning appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, "that he being intrusted by all the king's "friends, who would not credit any orders but such "as should pass through his hands, the king was "now gone without imparting it to him; which "would be the ruin of his design." He went to the chancellor, and lamented himself, "that there should "be any sword drawn in England before his; his "father's blood boiled within him, and kept him "from sleep." He desired him therefore, "that he "would so far communicate the design to him, that "he might only know to what part of England to "transport himself, that he might be in action as "soon as might be possible." He could draw nothing from the chancellor; who told him, "that he "knew of no probability of any action; and there-"fore could give no advice." Upon which he complained much of the chancellor's want of kindness to him: but he lost no time in following the king; and having great acquaintance with Herbert Price, a man much trusted by the earl of Rochester, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know, the greatest secrets, he prevailed with him, upon bearing his charges, to accompany him, that they might

[c] than upon the account of that story] *Not in MS.*

[d] publicly known] discovered

find out where the king was, at least that they might be ready on the sea-coast, to transport themselves into England upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the earl of Rochester had made any mention of Zealand to Mr. Price, thither they both came; and seeing sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas there, they believed there might likewise be others of their Cologne friends. Herbert Price, as he was a man of a very inquisitive nature, watched so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the king in an evening, when he used to walk to take a little air after the day's confinement. The king, since he was discovered, thought it best to trust him; and charged him, "not only to make "no discovery, but to remove out of the island, lest "his being seen there might raise suspicion in other "men." He did very importunately desire the king that he might bring Manning to speak with him, as not only an honest man, (as no doubt he thought him to be,) but a man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present service. But the king would by no means admit him, nor did he see him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his majesty concluded that Cromwell came to be informed of his being in Zealand, without any reproach to Mr. Price's fidelity; which was not suspected, though his presumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.





Shortly after the king's return to Cologne, Manning likewise came thither with his accustomed confidence. And in this time the chancellor received advertisement from England, "that he had no kind "of trust from the earl of Pembroke, but, on the "contrary, had been turned out of his service upon

BOOK XIV. 1655. "matter of dishonesty; and that he was a loose person, of no reputation:" and his majesty was informed by others from Antwerp, "that every post "brought many letters for him, which were taken up "there, and transmitted to Cologne; and that he had "letters of credit upon a merchant of Antwerp for "good sums of money." All this raised a suspicion in the king; who gave direction to a trusty person, who was purposely sent to take up all those letters at Antwerp, which were sent thither from England for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from Cologne by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means the party returned with many great packets both from and to him; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There were letters from Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary and principal minister, containing the satisfaction the protector received in the particular intelligence he received from him, with short instructions how he should behave himself. The person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him Manning's letters of three posts, all full of the most particular things done at Cologne; and the particular words said by the king, and others, that must needs affect those who should receive the intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

In one letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should send such "advice as was of much more moment than he had "ever yet sent, and above what he had given from "Zealand, and by which they might see, that there

"was nothing so secret at Cologne, of which he could "not be informed, if he had money enough;" and therefore desired the bill for the thousand crowns might be despatched. Together with this, the letter of the subsequent post was likewise seized upon; and by his method, which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was enclosed an overture or design for the surprise and taking of Plymouth; in which there was a very exact and true description of the town, and fort, and island, and the present strength and force that was there. Then a proposition, that a vessel with five hundred men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place, (a creek described,) and, upon a sign then given, such a place in the town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the fort and the island. The names of the persons who undertook to do both the one and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all men known to be well affected to the king, who, with the assistance of that five hundred men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that sir Hugh Pollard, and other persons named, who were all notable men for their zeal to the king's service, should be ready from the Devonshire side, as colonel Arundel and others from Cornwall, to second and support what was to be done.

The letter informed, "that when the king deli"vered that paper to the council," (which, he said,

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"he had received from a very good hand[e];" and then the marquis of Ormond made this and this objection, and others found this and that difficulty in the execution of the enterprise, all which the chancellor answered very clearly, and the king himself said very much of the easiness of the undertaking,) "there was one difficulty urged, that the king "himself appeared to be startled at, and looked upon "the chancellor; who arose from his place, and went "to the king's chair, and whispered somewhat in "his ear. Whereupon his majesty told the lords, "that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the chan-"cellor put him in mind of, and for that particular "they should refer the care of it to him, who would "take it upon him; and so the matter was resolved, "and the earl of Rochester undertook for the five "hundred men, and their transportation." Manning concluded, "that if he had money, they should know "constantly how this design should be advanced, or "any other set on foot." Every body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his letter many vain insinuations of his interest, as if he were never out of the king's company. Two of the king's servants were sent to seize upon his person and his papers; who found him in his chamber writing, and his cipher and papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several letters prepared, and made up with the

[e] from a very good hand] *MS. adds:* it was read twice

dates proper for many posts to come, with information and intelligence of the same nature as the former. BOOK XIV. 1655.

The secretary of state and one of the lords of the council were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "that the necessity of "his fortune had exposed him to that base condition "of life; and, to make himself fit for it, he had dissembled his religion; for," he said, "he remained "still a catholic: that he was sent over by Thurlow "to be a spy wherever the king should be, and had "constantly sent him intelligence, for which he had "received good sums of money; yet, that he had "been so troubled in mind for the vileness of the "life he led, that he was resolved, by raising great "expectations in them, to draw a good sum of money "from them; and then to renounce farther correspondence, and to procure the king's pardon, and "faithfully to serve him." Being asked, why he made such relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, "that if he had come to the knowledge of "any thing which in truth had concerned the king, "he would never have discovered it; but he thought "it would do no prejudice to the king, if he got "money from the rebels by sending them lies, which "could neither do them good, nor hurt his majesty; "and therefore all his care was to amuse them with "particulars, which he knew would please them; "and so when he was alone he always prepared letters containing such things as occurred to his invention, to be sent by the succeeding posts, and "that he had never written any thing that was true, "but of his majesty's being in Zealand; which, he "believed, could produce no prejudice to him.

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The king now discerned from whence all the apprehensions of his friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their jealousies; for though none of his counsels had been discovered, they who had received those letters might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their confidents of their knowing all that the king did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the king's friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of very many persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their loyalty. His majesty took care to publish the transactions of this man, with the method of the intelligence he gave; by which his friends discerned with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his enemies likewise discovered what current ware they had received for their money: yet they endeavoured to have it believed that he was not a man sent over by them, but a secretary in great trust about some person employed, whom they had corrupted: in which men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the court: and the wretch soon after received the reward due to his treason [f].

Cromwell's advantage by the risings of the king's party.

As the king's hopes were much eclipsed in England by the late unseasonable attempt, and the loss of so many gallant persons, as perished, or were undone in it; so Cromwell advanced his own credit, and was very much [g] enriched by it, and more confirmed with those who were of doubtful faith towards

[f] and the wretch soon after received the reward due to his treason] *Not in MS.*

[g] very much] infinitely

him. He lay before under the reproach of devising plots himself, that the commonwealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so vast forces still in pay. Whereas it now appeared how active and confident the king's party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an attempt in the middle of the kingdom, if they had not had good assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The success and triumph of a few desperate persons at Salisbury, that had produced such a consternation throughout the kingdom, and would have endangered the security of the whole west, if there had not happened some accidental confusion amongst the undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet force sufficient to provide for the safety of the kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every county, that it might not be endangered by every bold attempt: and the charge that this necessary defence would cause should in justice be borne by those who were the occasion of the expense.

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His order for decimating the king's party.

Thereupon he made by his own authority, and that of his council, an order, "that all those who "had ever borne arms for the king, or had declared "themselves to be of the royal party, should be de-"cimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that estate "which they had left, to support the charge which "the commonwealth was put to, by the unquietness "of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy "which they had administered." And that the public might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, commissioners were appointed in every

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county, to value what that tenth part of every such estate did amount to; and that no man might have too good a bargain of his own, every man was obliged to pay as much as those commissioners judged fit; and till he paid it, besides imprisonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there was no consideration taken of former compositions, of any articles of war, or of any acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great seal, without inquiry into their actions, or so much as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any correspondence with the king or any body trusted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late designs or insurrection.

His declaration to justify it.

That this order might be submitted to, and executed, he published a declaration to make the justice as well as the necessity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only set down the grounds of his present proceeding against the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed against any other party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had served the king, than had ever been before published. Great caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been designed[h] than to unite the whole nation in the joint defence of the common interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all marks of disunion and distinction of parties, and that all men, of what condition soever, (except

[h] designed] desired

those who had been always excepted by name,) who would submit to the government, should be admitted to have shares, and to act parts in the administration and defence of it. But now notice was taken of "such an inherent malignity, and irreconcileable-"ness in all those who from the beginning had ad-"hered to the king, and opposed the proceedings of "the parliament, towards all those who had served "their country, and vindicated the interest of the "people and nation, that they declined the common "rules of civility, and would have no conversation "with them; and, that the same malice and ani-"mosity might descend to their posterity, they would "not make marriages, or any friendship or alliance, "with those who had been separated, or divided from "them in those public differences[i]; and therefore "they were not hereafter to wonder, or complain, if "they were looked upon as a common enemy, which "must be kept from being able to do mischief; since "they would always be willing to do all they could; "and that they were not to expect to be prosecuted, "like other men, by the ordinary forms of justice, "and to have their crimes to be proved by witnesses, "before they should be concluded to be guilty. If "any desperate attempts were undertaken by any "of that party to disturb the public peace, that it "would be reasonable to conclude that they all "wished well to it, though they appeared not to "own it: that all conspiracies of that nature were "acted in secret, and were deeds of darkness, and "men might justly be suspected and proceeded "against as privy to them, by their common dis-

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[i] differences] contentions

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"courses, by the company they usually kept, and "by their very looks;" with many other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the disquisition of justice, and legal proceedings, that the king's party might reasonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but must expect a total extirpation, either by massacre, or transplantation.

But then the declaration took notice likewise of "the factions in the army, that would not acquiesce "in the government established; but would have "another found out, and formed according to their "levelling humours; all which distractions, to what "other ends soever directed, must so weaken the "commonwealth, if not wisely prevented, as it must "in the end be exposed as a prey to their inveterate "enemies; and therefore, that the same remedies "must be applied to them, as to the others;" with intimation clear enough, "that the connivance they "had formerly received, and even the pardons that "had been granted for their former mutinies and "transgressions, were of no more validity than the "articles, promises, and acts of indemnity, which "had been granted to the royal party: all which "were declared to be void and null, upon any suc-"ceeding delinquency:" so that all discontented people who liked not the present government, what part soever they had acted in the pulling down the old, whether presbyterian, independent, or leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoyed, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the

lowest misery; though, for the present, none but the king's party underwent that insupportable burden of decimation; which brought a vast incredible sum of money into Cromwell's coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the king the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his party because they had not assisted the rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party; or such who had sheltered themselves in some of the king's garrisons for their own conveniency.

The king caused an answer to be made to it.

This declaration was sent[k] to Cologne; where the king caused an answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the tyranny that was exercised over the kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of trust the protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next parliament that he called; which was not long after.

[k] sent] quickly sent

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REBELLION, &c.

## BOOK XV.

EZRA iii. 26.

*And I will make thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth, and thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a reprover; for they are a rebellious house.*

HOS. x. 3.

*For now they shall say, We have no king, because we feared not the Lord; what then shall a king do to us?*

HAB. i. 10.

*And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them.*[a]

BOOK XV.

1655. The king stayed at Cologne above two years.

THE king remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget and neglect him; and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny

[a] EZRA iii. 26. *And I will—unto them.*] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XV. 1655.

over those nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's father's peaceable and mild government: so that, if the king's nature[b] could have been delighted to behold the oppressions his rebellious subjects endured in all the three nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleasure of this kind in all of them: first, in seeing Scotland, which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquished and subdued by those whom they had taught the science of rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to destroy[c] their own natural prince, and dissolve the regal[d] government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a nation[e]: in seeing the pride and insolence of that people[f], which had used to practise such ill manners towards their king, suppressed, contemned,[g] and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men

The condition of Scotland under Cromwell.

[b] so that, if the king's nature] *Thus in MS.:* so that he might have enjoyed some of that comfort and pleasure, which Velleius Paterculus says that Marius and Carthage had, when his banishment reduced him to end his life in the ruins of that city, as he did; "Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio:" whilst he refreshed himself with the memory of his greatness, when he overthrew that great and famous city; and she again, delighted to behold her destroyer, expelled from his country, which he had served so eminently, and forced, forsaken of all men, to end his life and to be buried in her ashes. If the king's nature &c.

[c] to destroy] to subdue and destroy

[d] regal] *Not in MS.*

[e] nation] people

[f] people] nation

[g] contemned,] *MS. adds:* and subdued by those who had been instructed by them how to use their arms,

who were very few of them born[h] gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of common men. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, presbytery, which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king, was trod under foot, and laughed at[i]; and their preachers, who had threatened their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this subjection supported at their own charge, their fierce governors being paid by them out of their own estates.

Of Ireland.

He then beheld Ireland, that begun its rebellion with inhuman massacres, and butcheries of their peaceable and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this sottish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries, which afterwards befell the king, and his dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered,

[h] very few of them born] not born

[i] laughed at] laughed at and contemned

BOOK XV. 1655. would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury, that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the king, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural king murdered by his other rebels, for want of that assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, driving from them the governor and government of the king: I say, his majesty saw now this miserable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the lowest[k] desolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the king, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices against the royal power, to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of foreign princes, under whom they perished for want of

[k] lowest] highest

bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery[1] than the Irish were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

BOOK XV.

1655.

Lastly, England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the king's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and loyal party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exercised over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity, now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation was become at the disposal of a single person; and that those lords, without whose monstrous assistance the sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the king, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people: in a word, that Cromwell was not so jealous of

Of England.

[1] misery] misery and contempt

BOOK XV. 1655.

any, as of those who had raised him; and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the king had of the three kingdoms[m] during his residence at Cologne; but with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompense, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell in the beginning of 1655 sent two great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, with a land army under Venables:

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of the people at home[n] more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his refractory[o] parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there was likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire; who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to command[p] in this expedition.

Both these superior officers were well affected to

[m] three kingdoms] three kingdoms which had revolted from him

[n] the people at home] his own people, which vexed him exceedingly,

[o] refractory] stubborn

[p] command] serve

the king's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in,) send to the king, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet, and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time have set up[q] the king's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the king could not presume upon any port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. So he wished them to reserve their affections for his majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend.

The other fleet under Blake.

The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength, and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom Cromwell had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of

[q] have set up] erect

BOOK XV. 1655.

them came to such a point; where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many months after they were both at sea, nobody knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, "to give his friendship "to that crown that should best deserve it:" and, without doubt, both crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

The marquis of Leyda sent ambassador by Spain to Cromwell, who after a month returns to Flanders.

Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonzo de Cardinas in England, after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late king, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leyda with a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the catholic king. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that king to the same apprehension and expectation.

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The fleet under Blake goes into the Mediterranean.

The two fleets[r] set out from the coast of England; that under Blake, some months before the other; and made its course directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Algiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found, that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were overstocked[s] with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the Barbadoes than they had reason to expect, having now found there two frigates, (which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters,) and making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation,) about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where,

That under Pen to the Barbadoes.

[r] The two fleets] *Thus in MS.:* The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time; that under Blake made its course, &c.

[s] overstocked] oppressed

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after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a prosperous wind, they came, about the middle of April, within view of Santo Domingo; which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

Thence to Hispaniola.

Their orders.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a council of war; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was,) and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed, at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But by the march which Venables had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, where they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and

engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse armed with long lances, and other arms, which they had not been accustomed to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main body; upon sight whereof the Spaniard retired without any loss, having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay, and the fresh water river they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the general thought his men not only enough refreshed, but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort, which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole army;

Venables beaten by a few Spaniards.

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which, though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the bay with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their major general was one.

This fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day, as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbark themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica; where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard; who received exceeding[t] damage from thence; they who were so easily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other island, making afterwards frequent incursions, with small numbers, into it from Jamaica; sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

He reimbarks, and makes a descent upon Jamaica; where he succeeds.

That fleet returns into England.

The other fleet under the command of Blake had better success, without any misadventures. After

The fleet under Blake had better

[t] exceeding] infinite

he had reduced those of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to submit to such conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that king returned a very rude answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilst he sent out several long boats manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbours, and set fire to all the ships there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the men, returning safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

success: forces Algiers to a peace; enters the harbour of Tunis, and burns their fleet.

The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He was never so discomposed [u], (for he had usually a great command over his passions,) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a

Cromwell commits Pen and Venables to the Tower.

[u] He was never so discomposed] He had never such distempers

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Sends recruits to Jamaica.

distance, and wished the men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent orders to Blake, "that he should watch the return of the Plate-fleet, "and do what mischief he could upon the coast of "Spain;" and gave directions to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent Lockhart his ambassador into France; who was received with great solemnity; and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal. He finished there the alliance[x] with France. Cromwell undertook "to send over an "army of six thousand foot, to be commanded by "their own superior officer, who was to receive "orders only from marshal Turenne:" and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

Lockhart sent by him ambassador into France; who finishes an alliance there, begun before by the agents of France in England.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with him; and don Alonzo remained still in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the exchange, and fraternities entered into there for

[x] He finished there the alliance] He made an alliance

the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into Flanders to increase the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour were the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the archduke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the conte of Fuensaldagna; who he thought omitted many opportunities.

Don Alonzo sent to by Cromwell to leave England.

The archduke was weary of the title of governor of the Low Countries and general of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuensaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismission, and Fuensaldagna himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the court, as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the prince of Condé; which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the archduke was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcileableness with the archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority of the king, to dismiss the count of Swassenburgh; whom he loved of all the world; so that he

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was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from Madrid.

Don Juan of Austria made governor of Flanders: and Carracena appointed to command the army under him.

The council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the archduke and the conde; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in Germany, and to bring don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the king of Spain, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time general in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the king of Spain thought fit; and at the same time, that the conde of Fuensaldagna should immediately enter upon the government of Milan; which had been exercised for the last six years by the marquis of Carracena; who was now to govern the army in Flanders under don Juan; and that the marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority, as could not but breed ill blood in don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. This counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to enter Flanders with two powerful armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no command.

The king had sent to the archduke to offer his conjunction before the archduke left Flanders.

The king was yet at Cologne; and no sooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending Cromwell. He therefore sent privately to the archduke, and to Fuensaldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonzo was likewise there; and the long experience he had in England, and

the quality he still held, made his judgment in those affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present king, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the king's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the king should authorize to treat with them; which when the king knew, he resolved to go to them himself; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three servants; and when he came near Brussels, sent to advertise the archduke at what distance he was; and "that "he would see him *incognito* in what place, or man-"ner, he should think fit."

The king came into Flanders, and treats with the archduke near Brussels.

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the king was come in person; and desired, that he would by no means come to Brussels; but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Brussels; where he was very meanly [y] accommodated. Thither the conde of Fuensaldagna and don Alonzo came to his majesty; and the archduke met him privately at another place. The king quickly discovered that don Alonzo had a private intrigue with some officers of the English army, who were

[y] very meanly] vilely

BOOK XV. 1656. enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than the king's, and offered it as great merit to his majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the king. This correspondence between don Alonzo and those levellers, was managed by an Irish Jesuit, who, by speaking Spanish, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The king pressed them "that he might "remove his family to Brussels, or to some place in "Flanders, that it might be notorious that he was "in alliance with his catholic majesty; and then "they should quickly see he had another kind of "interest in England, than what those men pre-"tended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; "and they would quickly find, if his majesty re-"sided in that country, his influence upon the Irish "who were in France."

They would by no means consent that his majesty should remain in Brussels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the state to be there, "which," they said, "the king of "Spain's honour would not permit, without shewing "those respects to him that he might live in that "grandeur as became a great king; which the pre-"sent state of their affairs would not permit them "to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his majesty would choose to remove his "family to Bruges, and remain there with them, so "far *incognito* as not to expect any public expensive "reception, they were sure he would find all respect "from the inhabitants of that city." The king desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a man-

ner as was possible; by which the king was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the king of Spain's part undertaken but "that whenever the "king could cause a good port town in England to "declare for him, his catholic majesty would assist "him with a body of six thousand foot, and with "such a proportion of ammunition, and so many "ships to transport that body thither;" which was the proposition the levellers had made; and don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the king, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The king discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in those provinces, which remained under Spain, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the king of Spain; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, to expect other alterations. So his majesty readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by don Alonzo; and signed it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days' stay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed and signed by the king, the archduke, and don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657; the despatch of the treaty being hast-

The treaty signed April 1657 between Spain and the king.

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ened by the necessity of the departure of the archduke and the conde of Fuensaldagna; who begun their journey within two or three days after the signing of it: don Juan and the marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

The king removes his family from Cologne, and comes to reside at Bruges.

The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain, for the approbation and signature of his catholic majesty. The king with his small train went to Bruges, and lodged in the house of a subject of his own, the lord Tarah, an Irishman; who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother. There the king stayed, till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the duke of Gloucester, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his majesty had returned again to Brussels, to congratulate don Juan's arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at Bruges as he had been at Cologne: where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his economy.

As, upon the dissolution of the unruly parliament, Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that, by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies, he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all mer-

chants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the king's party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him; yet he discerned, that, by breaking their fortunes and estates, he had not at all broken their spirits; and that, by taking so many of their lives, their numbers were not much lessened; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined[z]. BOOK XV. 1656.

But that which troubled him most, was the distemper in his army; where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them as a guard to his own person; and to that purpose he had sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the protestant cantons; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient, which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people, as in the army. He constituted, out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a body of major generals; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major gene- Cromwell disturbed with the divisions in his own army. Constitutes his major generals.

[z] enough inclined] *MS. adds:* than himself who were no kinder to the other

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ral: so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man, in those counties which were committed to his charge, had all that authority which was before divided[a] among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

Their power.

The major general committed to prison what persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all monies which were appointed by the protector and his council to be collected for the public; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey their major general. A horseman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. By this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many bassa's with their bands of janizaries, towards the

[a] divided] scattered

people, and were extremely odious to all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

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When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica, the war was sufficiently declared against the catholic king, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general with him; Blake having found himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cales in expectation of the Spanish West India fleet [b], and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water, and some other provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the English fleet, came upon the coast; and before they were discovered by the commander of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when

Mountague sent to join with Blake; and put in commission with him.

An English squadron lights upon the Spanish West India fleet; takes the rear-admiral and another ship off of Cales.

[b] Spanish West India fleet] Indian fleet

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he got up with them, (though he was inferior to them in number,) they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the Spanish admiral run on shore in the bay; and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife, and sons, and daughters, fired[c]; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter, perished: his other daughters, and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English; who took the rear-admiral, and another ship[d], very richly laden; which, together with the prisoners, were sent into England, the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

The bullion taken conveyed from Portsmouth to London.

The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be there coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was prodigious; though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the English fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad

[c] fired] was fired by themselves to prevent being taken

[d] another ship] two other ships

and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress or compose those refractory spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such sheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a parliament to meet at Westminster, upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned, who were men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the house, who did not first subscribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the go-"vernment as it was established under a protector;" which being tendered, many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges, and freedom of parliament.

Cromwell summons a parliament to meet Sept. 17, 1656.

Imposes a subscription upon the members before they sat.

The major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the protector begun to hope that he had gained his

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The proceedings of this parliament.

point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for so they had long called the king) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the protector. Then they passed several acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the protector for his life; and passed several other acts for the raising of monies; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways, vast sums of money were to be, and afterwards were, raised[e]. All these acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that as "it had been the custom of the chief governors to "acknowledge the care and kindness of the com-"mons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily "and thankfully acknowledge theirs."

Cromwell's jealousy of Lambert.

But after all this he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for aught appeared, remove him from being both protector and general. There had been for some time jealousies between him and Lambert, who had been

[e] raised] exacted and raised

the principal adviser of the raising those major generals; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he desired to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

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The protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was protector, confirmed, and ratified by act of parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the government would be better, if it passed another consultation besides that of the house of commons." In matter of religion, he would often speak, "that there was much of good in the order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off." He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the parliament had despatched those acts, which are mentioned before, and

BOOK XV. 1656. that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, "that they might invest "Cromwell with the title, rights, and dignity of a "king; and then he would know, what he was to "do towards the satisfaction of all parties, and how "to govern those who would not be satisfied."

A proposition in the parliament for Cromwell to be king.

This proposition found a great[f] concurrence; and very many, who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation, than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the king, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the king's party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making Cromwell king for the present, was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty; and that the army, and the whole nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

1657. But the more sober persons of the king's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the king, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of

[f] great] marvellous

spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government; that very many, who had sustained the king's quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present king, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the king, was more directed to the monarchy than to the person; and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government run again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcileable to the present government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever: and there was an act of parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the house.

On the other side, Lambert, who was the second

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Lambert and his party oppose this overture.

man of power[g] in the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation: some of them said directly, "that if, "contrary to their oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had "spent so much blood and treasure, they must at "last return and submit to the old government, "and live again under a king, they would choose "much rather to obey the true and lawful heir to "the crown, who was descended from a long succession of kings who had managed the sceptre "over the nation, than to submit to a person who, "at best, was but their equal, and raised by themselves from the same degree of which they all "were, and, by the trust they had reposed in him, "had raised himself above them." That which put an end to the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful as any thing,) that some of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood, Whaley, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other officers; and confidently undertook to know, "that himself would "never consent to it; and therefore that it was very "strange that any men should importune the putting such a question, before they knew that he "would accept it, unless they took this way to destroy him." Upon this (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the first debate was put off, till farther consideration.

And some of Cromwell's own relations.

The debate was resumed again the next day, with

[g] of power] *Not in MS.*

the same warmth, the same persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the officers of the army, as well as they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately opposed the making him king, as Lambert and the rest did, who looked to be successive protectors after his decease; only it was observed, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it, (which had especially made the pause at that time,) urged that argument no more; but inveighed still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his privy council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him king, and much the major part of the house concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of several[h] of the most eminent members of the house to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of "the house, that he would take upon him the title "of king; and if they should find any aversion in "him, that they should then enlarge in giving him "those reasons, which had been offered in the "house, and which had swayed the house to that "resolution, which they hoped would have the same "influence upon his highness."

A committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it.

He gave them audience in the painted chamber, when they made the bare overture to him, as the desire of his parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, he wondered how any such "thing came into their minds; that it was neither

He gives them audience, and they offer him their reasons.

[h] several] six or seven

BOOK XV. 1657. "fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he "was sure they could discover no such ambition in "him, and that his conscience would not give him "leave ever to consent to own that title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so sud-"denly give a positive denial to what the parlia-"ment had desired upon so long and mature de-"liberation; that they, who knew[i] his modesty "well, and that he more affected to deserve the "highest titles than to wear them, were[k] appointed "to offer many reasons, which had induced the "house to make this request to him; which when "he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same "impression would be made upon him, that had "been made upon them in the house." He was too desirous to give the parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out "the nature of the English people, and the na-"ture of the government to which they had been "accustomed, and under which they had flourished "from the time they had been a people: that though "the extreme sufferings they had undergone by "corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical "kings, had transported them to throw off the go-"vernment itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the "persons of the offenders; yet they found by expe-

[i] they, who knew] they knew [k] were] that they were

" rience, that no other government would so well fit " the nation, as that to which it had been accus- " tomed: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains " his highness had taken, and which had been " crowned, even with miraculous success, by the " immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all " his actions and all his counsels, there remained " still a restless and unquiet spirit in men, that " threatened the public peace[1]; and that it was " most apparent, by the daily combinations and con- " spiracies against the present government, how " just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of " the nation was devoted to the old form, with which " it was acquainted; and that it was the love of " that, not the affection to the young man who pre- " tended a title to it, and was known to nobody, " which disposed so many to wish for the return " of it: that the name and title of a protector was " never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of " a subject, during the reign of an infant sovereign; " and therefore, that the laws gave little respect to " him, but were always executed in the name of the " king, how young soever, and how unfit soever to " govern: that whatsoever concerned the rights of " any family, or any personal pretence, was well " and safely over; the nation was united, and of " one mind in the rejection of the old line; there " was no danger of it; but nobody could say, that " they were of one mind in the rejection of the old " form of government; to which they were still " most addicted: therefore, they besought him, out " of his love and tenderness to the commonwealth,

[1] peace] peace and quiet

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"and for the preservation of the nation, which had "got so much renown and glory under his conduct, "that he would take that name and title which had "ever presided over it, and by which as he could "establish a firm peace at home, so he would find "his fame and honour more improved abroad; and "that those very princes and kings, who, out of ad-"miration of his virtue and noble actions, had con-"tracted a reverence for his person, and an impa-"tient desire of his friendship, would look upon him "with much more veneration, when they saw him "clothed with the same majesty, and as much their "equal in title as in merit; and would with much "more alacrity renew the old alliances with Eng-"land, when they were renewed in the old form, "and under the old title, which would make them "durable; since no foreign prince could presume to "take upon him to judge of right of succession; "which had been frequently changed in all king-"doms, not only upon the expiration of a line, "but upon deprivation and deposition; in such "manner as was most for the good and benefit of "the people; of which there was a fresh instance in "their own eyes, in the kingdom of Portugal; "where the duke of Braganza, by the election of "the people[m], assumed the crown, and title of "king, from the king of Spain; who had enjoyed it "quietly, and without interruption, during three "descents; and he was acknowledged as sovereign "of that kingdom by the late king; who received "his ambassadors accordingly."

Cromwell heard these and the like arguments

[m] by the election of the people] without any other title than the election of the people

with great attention, (and wanted not inclination[n] to have concurred with them; he thanked them "for "the pains they had taken,") "to which he would "not take upon him to give a present answer; that "he would consider of all they had said to him, and "resort to God for counsel; and then he would send "for them, and acquaint them with his resolution:" and so they parted, all men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. There is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself, or some friend, with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was, "that if he would make "himself king, they should easily know what they "had to do, but they knew nothing of the submis-"sion and obedience which they were to pay to a "protector;" and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him: nor did he much consider those other officers

[n] inclination] his approbation

BOOK XV. 1657. of the army, who in the house concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, "that they could do him no good, if they "should adhere to him; and therefore they were "resolved for their own interest to leave him, and "do the utmost they could against him, from the "time he assumed that title."

It was reported, that an officer of name, in the *eclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the "title of king upon him, he would kill him." Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, "that there were a number of men, "who bound themselves by oath to kill him, within "so many hours after he should accept that title." They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream, or apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he

then observed, it had only declared, "that he should "be the greatest man in England, and should be "near to be king;" which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great[o] distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the committee of parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely[p] discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good conscience, accept "the government under the title of a king."

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He refuses the title of king.

Many were then of opinion, that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the king's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that, if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army, who would not have left him, who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person, than from a parliament, or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that govern-

[o] great] wonderful [p] extremely] marvellously

BOOK XV. 1657. ment, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him; which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an assault[q]; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered; as appeared afterwards, in many conspiracies against his life.

His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who, as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have so quartered and modelled his troops, as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the king's restoration; and many of the soberest men in the nation confessed, after the king's return, that their dejected

[q] assault] *MS. adds:* by not going abroad

spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his. BOOK XV.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, or his fear[r] in the refusing that supreme title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the title and authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble petition and advice; in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other protector than himself. 1657.

He is confirmed protector by the humble petition and advice.

And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his parliament sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the banqueting house; where their speaker Withrington presented, and read the petition and advice of his parliament, and desired his assent to it.

[r] or his fear] *Not in MS.*

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The contents of it.

The contents and substance of it were, "that his "highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title "of protector, be pleased to execute the office of "chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ire-"land, and the territories and dominions thereunto "belonging, &c. and to govern according to all "things in that petition and advice: and also, that "he would in his lifetime appoint the person that "should succeed him in the government: that he "would call a parliament consisting of two houses, "once in a year at farthest: that those persons who "are legally chosen by a free election of the people "to serve in parliament, may not be excluded from "doing their duties, but by consent of that house "whereof they are members: that none but those "under the qualifications therein mentioned, should "be capable to serve as members in parliament: "that the power of the other house be limited, as "therein is prescribed: that the laws and statutes "of the land be observed and kept; no laws altered, "suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by new "laws made by act of parliament: that the yearly "sum of a million of pounds sterling be settled for "the maintenance of the navy and army; and three "hundred thousand pounds for the support of the "government; besides other temporary supplies, as "the commons in parliament shall see the necessi-"ties of the nation to require: that the number of "the protector's council shall not exceed one and "twenty; whereof seven shall be a *quorum:* the "chief officers of state, as chancellors, keepers of the "great seal, &c. to be approved by parliament: that "his highness would encourage a godly ministry in "these nations; and that such as do revile and dis-

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"turb them in the worship of God, may be punished "according to law; and where laws are defective, "new ones to be made: that the protestant Chris-"tian religion, as it is contained in the Old and "New Testament, be asserted, and held forth for "the public profession of these nations, and no "other; and that a confession of faith be agreed "upon, and recommended to the people of these "nations; and none to be permitted, by words or "writing, to revile or reproach the said confession "of faith."

When[s] this petition and advice was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and told them, "that he came not thither that day "as to a day of triumph, but with the most serious "thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to "undertake one of the greatest burdens that ever "was laid upon the back of any human creature; "so that, without the support of the Almighty, he "must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to "the damage and prejudice of the nation committed "to his charge: therefore he desired the help of the "parliament, and the help of all those who feared "God, that by their help he might receive help and "assistance from the hand of God, since nothing "but his presence could enable him to discharge so "great a trust." He told them, "that this was but "an introduction to the carrying on of the govern-"ment of the three nations; and therefore he re-"commended the supply of the rest, that was yet "wanting, to the wisdom of the parliament;" and

His speech upon passing it.

[s] When] After

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said, "he could not doubt, but tho same spirit that "had led the parliament to this, would easily sug- "gest the rest to them; and that nothing should "have induced him to have undertaken this intole- "rable burden to flesh and blood, but that he saw "it was the parliament's care to answer those ends "for which they were engaged;" calling God to witness, "that he would not have undergone it, but "that the parliament had determined that it made "clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, "and preservation of such as fear God; and if the "nation were not thankful to them for their care, it "would fall as a sin on their heads." He concluded with recommending some things to them, "which," he said, "would tend to reformation, by discounte- "nancing vice and encouraging virtue;" and so dismissed them to return to their house.

But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a message to the parliament, "that they would adjourn "until such a time as the solemnity of his inaugu- "ration should be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

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The solemnity of his inauguration.

On the day appointed, Westminster hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of state under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the speaker of the parliament Withrington, that this promotion might not seem to be without the nobility's having any share in it[t], the speaker, with the earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines; the speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and lastly presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal coronation, but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the speaker, in these words, (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory petition and advice:)[u] "I do, in the presence, and by the "name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, "to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and

[t] without the nobility's having any share in it] without any vote from the nobility

[u] (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory petition and advice:)] *Not in MS*

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"maintain the true reformed protestant Christian "religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in "the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testa-"ment; and to the utmost of my power, and un-"derstanding, encourage the profession and profes-"sors of the same; and that, to the utmost of my "power, I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of "these three nations, the maintenance and preserv-"ing of the peace and safety, and just rights and "privileges of the people thereof; and shall in all "things, according to the best of my knowledge "and power, govern the people of these three na-"tions according to law."

After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other house with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He adjourns his parliament to January the 20th.

His actions in the vacancy of parliament.

He sent now for his eldest son Richard; who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon

the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampshire; and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy counsellor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that "he would name such a successor, as was in all re-"spects equal to the office:" and so men guessed this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he had sent into Ireland, and made him his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

His daughters disposed of in marriage.

He had only two daughters unmarried: one of those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and throughly engaged in the cause[x] from the beginning; the other was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. There were many reasons to believe, that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed, that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by mi-

x in the cause] in the war

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nisters ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

The success of his arms abroad.

These domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply those forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own use; in which the six thousand English under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces, "that his master "knew where to find a more punctual friend;" that as soon as they had taken Montmedy, and St. Venant,[y] the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, "that they would besiege Dun-"kirk the next year, and make it their first at-"tempt."

The victory of his fleet over the Spaniard.

But that which made a noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake[z], had obtained over the Span-

[y] and St. Venant,] *Not in MS.* [z] Blake] Montague and Blake

iard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain, and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cales and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the West Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up Cales, one way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.



With this resolution the fleet stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle, moored along the shore; and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisting of sixteen good ships,) which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. Besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered with a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the

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bay, every one of them furnished with divers[a] good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the general saw in what posture the Spaniard lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, he resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible,) and sent captain Stayner with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons; which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts, and lesser breastworks, with continual broadsides to hinder their firing. Then the general coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships, which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every ship, galleons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but it happened[b] the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

[a] divers] six [b] it happened] *Not in MS.*

The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action; no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships, and on the shore, was incredible.

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The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake; who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the sound of Plymouth, expired. He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and [c] to encourage his officers to venture their lives [d], that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the kings. He was a man of a private extraction [e]; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination disposed

Blake returns with the fleet; dies in the way.

His burial, and character.

[c] and] and then, according to the method of that time,

[d] to venture their lives] to be killed

[e] a private extraction] an ordinary extraction

BOOK XV. 1657. him to receive in the university of Oxford; where he took the degree of a master of arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good-fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an anti-monarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the king; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hertford, being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent service to the parliament, especially at Taunton, at land,[f] he then betook himself wholly to the sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and de-

[f] After this—at land,] *Not in MS.*

spised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage [g], and bold and resolute achievements.

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The parliament comes together Jan. 20. 1658.

After all this lustre and glory, in which the protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the parliament again together. They did not reassemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the commons, by having called the other house; which

[g] that gave the example of that kind of naval courage] that drew the copy of naval courage

BOOK XV. 1658. by the petition and advice was to be done; and having filled it, for the most part, with the officers of the army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the parliament used to attend him in the painted chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the house of lords; where his new creations were; then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to call the commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that house, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, begun his speech in the old style, "My lords, and you, the "knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the house of "commons:" and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for "their fair correspondence the last session;" and assured them, "if they would continue to prosecute "his designs, they should be called the blessed of "the Lord, and generations to come should bless "them."

Cromwell speaks to them.

But as soon as the commons came to their house, they caused the third article of the petition and advice to be read; by which it was provided, that no members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house of which they were members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their house, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that recognition of the protector; and by this means, above a hundred[h] of the most inveterate enemies the protector

The house of commons readmit all their members that had been excluded by virtue of a clause in the petition and advice.

[h] above a hundred] near two hundred

had, came and sat in the house; among whom were sir Harry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal men; who had much the more credit and interest in the house, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

Their transactions afterward.

As soon as these men came into the house, they begun to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house; "that it was true, the petition "and advice had admitted there should be such an "house; but that it should be a house of peers, that "they should be called *my lords*, there was no pro-"vision; nor did it appear what jurisdiction it "should have: that it would be a very ridiculous "thing, if they should suffer those who were created "by themselves, and sat only by their vote, to be "better men than they, and to have a negative "voice to control their masters. When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: "Who gave him that authority to make peers? "that it had been the proper business of that house "to have provided for all this; which it is probable "they would have done at this meeting, if he had "not presumptuously taken that sovereign power "upon him."

Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and perplexed with this new spirit; and found that he had been shortsighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his house of commons, when he erected his other of peers: for he had taken

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away those out of that house, who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other house, without supplying those other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and convened both houses before him; and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. "The other house," he said, "were lords, and should be lords;" and commanded them "to enter upon such business, as might be for "the benefit, not the distraction of the common-"wealth; which he would with God's help prevent." And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his house of lords upon the fourth[i] of February; and sending for the commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that it concerned his "interest, as much as the peace and tranquillity of "the nation, to dissolve that parliament; and there-"fore he did put an end to their sitting." So that cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a storm.

Cromwell convenes both houses, and speaks to them.

He dissolves that parliament Feb. 4.

The parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drown-

Raynolds cast away coming out of Flanders.

[i] fourth] twentieth

ed at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the parliament, Lockhart, who was the protector's ambassador in France, was designed to take that charge upon him; and all things, which were to be transported from England, for the prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were despatched[k] with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the cardinal to imagine, that the protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the parliament.

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As soon as he was rid of that, he thought it as necessary to give some instances at home, how little he feared those men who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being major general in the north, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers Cromwell substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the protector, that he was entire master of his army.

Cromwell turns Lambert out of the army.

He had observed, throughout the parliament, that

[k] despatched] executed

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the major generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of king conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous to have the major generals confirmed by parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of listing men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, Cromwell was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to himself.

He abridges the power of his major generals.

He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad; and sending for the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surprised; "that there was a design to seize upon the "Tower; and at the same time that there should "be a general insurrection in the city of the cava-"liers, and discontented party, whilst the city re-"mained so secure, that they had put their militia "into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves "in such an attempt; but on the contrary, that "they were so negligent in their discipline, that "the marquis of Ormond had lain securely in the "city full three weeks without being discovered; "who was sent over by the king to countenance a "general insurrection, whilst the king himself," he said, "had ten thousand men ready at Bruges, with

He acquaints the lord mayor &c. of the city with a plot of the cavaliers, and the marquis of Ormond's being in England.

"two and twenty ships, with which he meant to "invade some other more northern part of the king-"dom." He wished them "to lose no time in put-"ting their militia into a good posture, and to make "very strict searches to discover what strangers "were harboured within the walls of the city, and "to keep good watches every night." He ordered double guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary occasion for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the king's party, to be surprised in the night in their beds, (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious,) and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity used in the several counties; for the better explanation and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

Many persons seized on upon that account.

The king's affairs in Flanders.

Within little more than two months after the king's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the archduke with the king, was sent ratified from Madrid by the king of Spain, with many great compliments; which the king was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great king, they let his majesty know, "that the "catholic king had assigned so many crowns as "amounted to six thousand gilders, to be paid "every month towards a royal aid; and half so "much more, for the support of the duke of Glou-

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"cester; that though the sum was very small, it "was as much as their necessities would bear; and "the smallness should be recompensed by the punc-"tuality of the payment;" the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the king had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the king should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the king should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments, there was not one penny allowed; or any other encouragement, than little quarters to bring their men to; and, after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the king was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his person. The marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over. The earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the court, who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to

The king raises four regiments of his subjects in Flanders.

them, the king gave the fourth regiment to the lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage; who had served his father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the king of France, that he would no longer receive that pension, which, during the time he had remained at Cologne, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into Flanders, he never would receive any part of it.

The king no longer receives any pension from France.

The Spanish army was at this time before Condé; a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and Cambray; which was invested now by don Juan; who finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muskery, a nephew of the marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the king; and therefore writ to his majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the marquis to the camp; which his majesty could not refuse; and the marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the chancellor of the exchequer was sent to Brussels (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months, which were assigned to the king) to confer with don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the winter upon England; don Juan and the marquis of Carracena

The marquis of Ormond sent to treat with the lord Muskery at Condé about his regiment.

The chancellor of the exchequer sent to Brussels

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referring all things which related to England to don Alonzo, and being very glad that the chancellor went to Brussels, at the same time that the marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

Condé was reduced to straits by the time the marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by don Juan, at least by the marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the king, or indeed than the king himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with those of the Irish nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own king: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; especially they desired that his nephew Muskery, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the capitulation was signed, the marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the several regiments. When he had informed them of the king's pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the Spaniard was, for the present, necessary in order to the king's service, the other regiments made no scruple of it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

The success of the marquis's conference with Muskery.

Only Muskery expressly refused that either himself, or any of his men, should leave their colours, till, according to his articles, they should march into

France. He said, "it was not consistent with his "honour to do otherwise." But he declared, "that "as soon as he should come into France, he would "leave his regiment in their quarters; and would "himself ride to the court, and demand his pass; "which, by his contract with the cardinal, was to "be given to him, whenever his own king should "demand his service; and his regiment should like-"wise be permitted to march with him." It was urged to him, "that it was now in his own power "to dispose of himself; which he might lawfully do; "but that, when he was found in France, he would "no more have it in his power." He said, "he was "bound to ask his dismission, and the cardinal was "bound to give it: and when he had done his part, "he was very confident the cardinal would not break "his word with him; but if he should, he would get "nothing by it; for he knew his men would follow "him whithersoever he went; and therefore de-"sired his uncle to satisfy himself; and to assure "the king and don Juan, that he would, within six "weeks, return; and if he might have quarters as-"signed him, his regiment should be there within "few days after him." It was in vain to press him farther, and the marquis telling don Juan, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better esteem of him than of the other officers, who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

Muskery marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France, rode to Paris; where the cardinal then was; who received him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his

BOOK XV. 1658. dismission, and urged his capitulation, the cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to serve the Spaniard, and "not his own king; who had no employment for "him: that if he would stay in their service till the "king had need of him, he would take care to send "him and his regiment in a better condition to his "majesty, than they were now in." When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment; averring, "that he was not bound to it, be-"cause there could be no pretence that they could "serve the king; who had no use of them, nor where-"withal to pay them."

Muskery took what he could get, his own pass; and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Brussels; and desired don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole regiment, officers and soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment, as of any that was in their service.

Muskery brings his regiment over to the Spaniards.

When the marquis proposed any thing that concerned the king, during the time he was in the army,

don Juan still writ to don Alonzo to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer about it; who found don Alonzo in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the Irish Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the levellers, that, after he had received the money that was assigned to the king, he returned to Bruges, as the marquis did from the army, when the business of Condé was over.

The chancellor of the exchequer's conferences with don Alonzo.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between Cromwell and the cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the cardinal had not only promised, "that the king "should receive no assistance from thence; but that "nobody who related to his service, or against whom "any exception should be taken, should be permitted "to reside in France;" and that, as the king had already been driven thence; so, when the time should be ripe, the duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now, upon the king's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty with Cromwell, the French did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the king's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclusion of the duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the king, and some who had charges in the army. And the cardinal, and the queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confi-

The cardinal gives notice to the duke of York, that he must leave the French service.

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dence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

Amongst those who by that secret article were to leave the French service, the earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the earl, having received very great obligations from the cardinal, thought his interest greater in the queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself,) and so, in the cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the earl took for pure friendship,) until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the earl was lieutenant general of the army in Italy. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, "which obliged them to receive commands "from Cromwell, which were very uneasy to them;" then told him, "that he could stay no longer in their "service, and that they must be compelled to dis-"miss the duke of York himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would part "with him, as with a man that had done them great "service." The earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell; and quickly had the image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in

The earl of Bristol ordered also to leave France.

servants and horses. So he came directly for Bruges to the king; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the king.

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Comes to Bruges to the king.

There was nothing more known, than that the Spaniard had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England, whilst he was secretary of state, of which don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders; where he was proclaimed, and detested in all the rhymes and songs of the country, for the savage outrages his forces had committed by fire and plunder, two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "that all the time he was in France, "he was out of his sphere; and that his own genius "always disposed him to Spain; where he was now "resolved to make his fortune." And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army.

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when it had newly taken Condé; where he found his reception such, both from don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

Ingratiates himself with don Juan, notwithstanding the great prejudice the Spaniards had against him.

He was present when don Juan eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of scholastic points, if his confessor, or any other learned person, was present. The earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and don Juan begun to be very much pleased with his company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in astrology; in which he found the earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that, within a week after he had first seen him, he desired the earl to calculate[1] his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to don Juan; which when the marquis of Carracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the earl having been lieutenant general of the French army under prince Thomas, in conjunction with the duke of Modena, against Milan, the very year before, when the marquis of Carracena was governor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his conduct in signal actions; which the marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And don Alonzo being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though

[1] calculate] compute

he had all imaginable detestation of the earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in don Juan and the marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired don Juan and the marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the court, and to the army; and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Brussels.

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There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Ghislain; which, being within few leagues of Brussels, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the court, that they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison were Irish, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to sir George Lane, who was secretary to the marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up that place would be a service to the king? and if it would, they would undertake it." The marquis sent his secretary to inform the earl of Bristol of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. He communicated it to

He is instrumental in recovering St. Ghislain to the Spaniards.

m few] four

don Juan, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the king. So now he became intrusted between the king and don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the king, and the king well pleased that he had such credit with don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have much use; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghislain was very acceptable to the Spaniards; their campaign being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghislain behind them; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the earl to promise great rewards in money, and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schomberg discovered the conspiracy, and apprehended two or three of the officers, yet the soldiers, which were upon the guards in some outforts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This service was of very great[n] importance to

[n] very great] infinite

the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the earl; who then came to the king at Bruges, and said all that he thought fit of don Juan to the king, and, amongst the rest, "that don Juan advised his ma-"jesty to send some discreet person to Madrid, to "solicit his affairs there; but that he did not think "the person he had designed to send thither" (who was sir Harry de Vic, that had been long resident in Brussels) "would be acceptable there." This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly in his office [o] when he was secretary of state, and bred by him; and was now secretary to the duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other post; and was about this time come to the king, as a forerunner to inform him of the duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a person very acceptable to the king; and therefore his majesty readily consented, that he should go to Madrid instead of De Vic: so he returned with the earl to Brussels, that he might be presented, and made known to don Juan; from whom the earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

He obtains of the king that sir H. Bennet should be sent envoy to Madrid.

The time was now come that the duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the king to Bruges; where there were then all the visible hopes of the crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the late king, the princess Hen-

The duke of York leaves Paris, and comes to the king at Bruges.

[o] in his office] his servant

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rietta only excepted; for, besides the king and his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the princess royal of Orange made that her way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brothers.

The chancellor of the exchequer made lord chancellor.

It was at this time that the king made the chancellor of the exchequer lord chancellor of England, sir Edward Herbert, who was the last lord keeper of the great seal, being lately dead at Paris. Now the king put the seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the king first employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal till the king should come into England; and, "that his majesty found some "ease in being without such an officer, that he was "not troubled with those suits, which he would be, "if the seal were in the hands of a proper officer to "be used, since every body would be then impor-"tuning the king for the grant of offices, honours, "and lands, which would give him great vexation "to refuse, and do him as great mischief[p] by grant-"ing." The which when the marquis told the king,) his majesty himself went to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; "that the principal reason which he had alleged "against receiving the seal, was the greatest reason

[p] and do him as great mischief] and he would undergo great mischief

" that disposed him to confer it upon him." Thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands; one whereof was of the queen's house and lands of Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the seal presently put to it; which being in the king's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His majesty told him also of many other importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and " that he saw no " other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the " seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as " would not be importuned, and would help him to " deny." And thereupon he conjured the chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure; who delivered the seal to him in the council, in the Christmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, because many great affairs, and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in Cologne, the king's very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his majesty and the king of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the

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business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. The king, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared; which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from England to assure him, "that there was so universal a readiness there, "that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to "expect the king, but they would begin the work "themselves:" yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the king, and they again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "that "they would ruin themselves, and all people who "should join with them."

Transactions of the king's friends in England.

The king was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement; and therefore he sent to them, and conjured them "to attempt nothing, till he sent a person to "them, who, if they were ready, should have au-"thority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunc-"tion with them, and should himself be fit to con-"duct them in any reasonable enterprise."

Which was the occasion of the marquis of Ormond's going into England.

The marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the king, "that he would privately go into Eng-"land, and confer with those who were most for-"ward; and if he found, that their counsels were

"discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and "unite all the rest to them; and if matters were "not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet;" and there was no man in England affected to the king's service, who would not be readily advised by him. The chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceived, with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's jealousy and vigilance, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The king consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the marquis's absence from Bruges might not create jealousy, and discourse, "whither he should be "gone." Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "that the marquis of Ormond was to go into Ger-"many to the duke of Newburgh," (who was known to have affection for the king,) and, "that he should "from thence bring with him two regiments for the "service of his majesty."

These discourses being generally made and believed, the marquis took his leave publicly of the king, with his servants fit for such a journey, who continued the journey towards Germany; so that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the marquis of Ormond's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neile, (who had encouraged[q] him very much to that undertaking,) took the way of Holland; and hired a bark

[q] encouraged] inflamed

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at Schevelin; in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence, without any trouble, they got to London, whilst the parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found means[z] to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the king most depended, and against whose positive advice his majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted.

The temper he found the king's friends in.

That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity between many of those who equally wished the king's restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of "the rashness of the other, who believed any offi-"cer of the army that pretended discontent, and "would presently desire them to communicate with "such persons; which because they refused, (as "they had reason,) the others loaded them with re-"proaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for "his majesty's service:" they protested, "that they "could not discover or believe that there was any "such preparations in readiness, that it could be "counsellable to appear in arms against a govern-"ment so fortified and established, as the protec-"tor's seemed to be: that it was probable the par-"liament might not comply with Cromwell's de-"sires; and then there was such a discovery of ma-"lice between several persons of potent condition,

[z] means] opportunity

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"that many advantages might be offered to the "king's party: if they would have the patience to "attend the event, and till those factions should be "engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance "the king's interest in disposing of themselves; but "if they should engage, before such a time, in any "insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant town, "all dissenting parties would be reconciled, till the "king's friends should all be ruined, though they "might afterwards return to their old animosities." In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the king's pleasure, "that, if the marquis were satisfied, upon his con-"ference with other men, that the time was ripe "for their appearance in arms, they would presently "receive his orders; and do what he should require, "how unsuccessfully soever."

On the other side, there were many younger men, who, having had no part in the former war, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the king. And those men, being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late king's army, who saw many of their old soldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the king, as soon as they should see his colours flying. These men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two troops of horse, to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard; and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these meetings some citizens, who undertook for the affection of the city; and some of these

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made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials, that many honest men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the king was even ready to land with such an army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent expresses into Flanders; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the king, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the court, or in their way, who thought they did the king good service in making his majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those people with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they should be infallibly sure of the king's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quatermaine, the king's physician,

The marquis returns out of England.

through Sussex; and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he came into Flanders. BOOK XV. 1658.

This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that discourse before mentioned to the mayor and aldermen of London, of the lord marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into Cromwell's hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the protector was well assured that the marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might, have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the king's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies, of all conditions, within the kingdom, with spectacles which might mortify them.

Cromwell apprehends several per-

In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Sussex; whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the king's judges. This son of his, who now possessed his estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the king; and, upon all

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occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his own life and his fortune for his majesty's restoration; and not only his fortune, but his interest was considerable in that maritime county: so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate, which the treason of his father had forfeited.

Mr. Mordaunt is active for the king.

There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger son, and brother, of the earls of Peterborough; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the king, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution; and being allied to the marquis of Ormond, he did by him inform his majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the marquis's journey into England.

Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had represented his affections to the king, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the king under Mr. Stapley's own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt desired, that his majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the

season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his com-"mission from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand." Before this discovery Mr. Mordaunt had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the marquis of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapley, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible consternation.

Mr. Stapley discovers what he knew of the plot.

Mr. Mordaunt seized on, and committed to the Tower.

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Mr. Mordaunt, sir H. Slingsby, and Dr. Hewet, tried before a high court of justice.

Before this high court of justice, of which John Lisle, who gave his vote in the king's blood, and continued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell's, was president; there were first brought to be tried, John Mordaunt; sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire; and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the king's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that was brought to trial was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapley would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead not-guilty; but insisted, "that by the law of the land he ought not to be tried by that court;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that his counsel might "have liberty to argue the point in law;" which of

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course used to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told, "that he was better to bethink himself; "that they were well satisfied in the legality of "their court, and would not suffer the jurisdiction "of it to be disputed; that the law of England had "provided a sentence for such obstinate persons as "refused to be tried by it; which was, that they "should be condemned as mutes; which would be "his case, if he continued refractory:" so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingsby was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded not-guilty; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the king, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard; and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to prison.

Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some, who, out of pity[s], or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband: and in the evening of that day the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, "that she

The means by which Mr. Mordaunt escaped sentence.

[s] pity] generosity

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"should prevail with her husband to plead; then "his friends might do him some service: whereas, "if he insisted upon the point of law, he would in-"fallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him." The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to "condemn him upon any particular with which he "stood charged, but only for the delivery of the "commission to Stapley; and that there was to that "point, besides Stapley, one colonel Mallory, whose "testimony was more valued than the other's." This Mallory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Sussex, and had been apprehended about the same time that Stapley was; and finding, upon his first examination, by the questions administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapley. He was brought in custody from the Tower, to give in evidence against Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention in the court, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and

was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a friend of hers disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when Mallory was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice, put into her husband's hand, as he passed to the bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the president, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial; and behaved himself with courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the king, with notable address. That of the commission of Stapley was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at Worcester, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the questions Mr. Mordaunt asked him with that confusion, that his evi-

BOOK XV. 1658. dence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. Then Mallory was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own rules, defer their sentence. And it so fell out, by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone,[t] that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the president; who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him innocent for ought appeared to the court. There was not in Cromwell's time the like instance; and scarce any other man escaped the judgment, that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some months after in the Tower,[u] and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the prison: and he had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case so unheard of, that any man, discharged upon a public trial, should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach

[t] by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone,] *Not in MS.*

[u] in the Tower,] *MS. adds:* whereas he ought to have been released the same moment,

of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the king's service as before, and with better success.

Sir Harry Slingsby condemned;

Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewet had worse fortune; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity; and the court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot, to make so many formidable examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the crown from the first assaulting it,) that he had contrived, and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire two years before, for the delivery of one of the block-houses to him for the king's service: nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation; but rather acknowledged and justified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the king, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody being suffered to speak with him,) and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the court; which, upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial: but they then refused to admit him; and

and doctor Hewet, refusing still to plead:

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They are both executed.

so sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian courage.

An account of sir Harry Slingsby.

Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire; and was returned to serve as a member in the parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that parliament. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the king. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcileable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the lord Falconbridge; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being an honest man, of which "he was very glad."

And of Dr. Hewet.

Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army,

till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London; where, by the affection of the parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the king at Cologne or Bruges; with which he was charged in his indictment[x]; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, colonel Ashton, Stacy, and Betteley, condemned by the same court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city, to make the deeper impression upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom Mallory

C Ashton, and Stacy, and Betteley, citizens, condemned and executed.

[x] indictment] impeachment

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was one; who was not at liberty till the king's return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespassed.

Though the king, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the king's party was the more dispirited; but Cromwell found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole body of sectaries, anabaptists, independents, quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the king by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction, and great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

[Margin: ...omwell ...nd new ...emies ...ong the ...taries.]

[Margin: An address sent by the anabaptists to the king.]

Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that petition and address, which was never published, and of which

there remains no copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the original, which was presented to the king, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England, to have any such transcript in his custody,) it will not be amiss in this place to insert the petition and address, in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the king's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the king in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst those sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the king, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words:

*To his most excellent majesty, Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.* The address itself.

" The humble address of the subscribers, in the " behalf of themselves, and many thousands " more, your majesty's most humble and " faithful subjects.

" May it please your majesty,

" When we sit down and recount the wonderful " and unheard of dispensations of God amongst us, " when we call to our remembrances the tragical ac- " tions and transactions of these late times, when we " seriously consider the dark and mysterious effects " of Providence, the unexpected disappointment of

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"counsels, the strange and strong convulsions of "state, the various and violent motions and commo-"tions of the people, the many changings, turnings, "and overturnings of governors and governments, "which, in the revolutions of a few years, have "been produced in this land of miracles, we cannot "but be even swallowed up in astonishment, and are "constrained to command an unwilling silence upon "our sometimes mutinous and over-inquiring hearts, "resolving all into the good-will and pleasure of that "all-disposing One, whose wisdom is unsearchable, "and whose ways are past finding out.

"But although it is, and we hope ever will be, "far from us, either peevishly or presumptuously to "kick against the irresistible decrees of Heaven, or "vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm designs "of ours, to give an interruption to that overruling "divine hand, which steers and guides, governs and "determines the affairs of the whole world; yet we "cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon "us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair "the breaches of our dear country. And, since it "is our lot (we may say our unhappiness) to be em-"barked in a shipwrecked commonwealth, (which, "like a poor weatherbeaten pinnace, has, for so "long a time, been tossed upon the waves and bil-"lows of faction, split upon the rocks of violence, "and is now almost quite devoured in the quicksands "of ambition,) what can we do more worthy of "Englishmen, as we are by nation, or of Christians, "as we are by profession, than every one of us to "put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of "our God, that such weak instruments as we, may "be, in any measure, helpful to bring it at last into

" the safe and quiet harbour of justice and right- BOOK
" eousness?

" To this undertaking, though too great for us, " we are apt to think ourselves so much the more " strongly engaged, by how much the more we are " sensible, that as our sins have been the greatest " causes, so our many follies and imprudences have " not been the least means of giving both birth and " growth to those many miseries and calamities, " which we, together with three once most flourish- " ing kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

" It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto " us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your " majesty, that we should recur to the beginnings, " rise, and root of the late unhappy differences be- " twixt your royal father and the parliament. In " such a discourse as this, we may seem, perhaps, " rather to go about to make the wounds bleed " afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them: yet " forasmuch as we do profess, that we come not " with corrosives but with balsams, and that our de- " sire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar " but oil into the wounds, we hope your majesty " will give us leave to open them gently, that we " may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover " our own past errors the more clearly.

" In what posture the affairs of these nations " stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets dis- " turbed the sweet harmony that was amongst us, is " not unknown to your majesty: that we were blest " with a long peace, and, together with it, with " riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, " the lovely companions and beautiful products of " peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankful-

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" ness to God, the author of it, and with a grateful " veneration of the memory of those princes, your " father and grandfather, by the propitious influence " of whose care and wisdom we thus flourished. But, " as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness and " fulness of diet do for the most part lay the founda- " tion of those maladies, and secretly nourish those " diseases, which can hardly be expelled by the as- " sistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom " without the use of the most loathsome medicines, " nay sometimes not without the hazardous trial of " the most dangerous experiments; so did we find " it, by sad experience, to be in this great body po- " litic. It cannot be denied, but the whole common- " wealth was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole " body out of order, every member thereof feeble, " and every part thereof languishing. And in this " so general and universal a distemper, that there " should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsound- " ness in the head, cannot well be imagined. We " are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the men- " tion whereof would but renew old griefs; but, in " general, we may say, and we think it will gain the " easy assent of all men, that there were many errors, " many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, " many illegal and eccentrical proceedings, (some of " which were in matters of the highest and greatest " concernments,) manifestly appearing as blots and " stains upon the otherwise good government of the " late king. That these proceeded from the pravity " of his own disposition, or from principles of ty- " ranny radicated and implanted in his own nature, " we do not see how it can be asserted, without ap- " parent injury to the truth; it being confessed, even

" by his most peevish enemies, that he was a gentle-
" man, as of the most strong and perfect intellec-
tuals, so of the best and purest morals, of any
" prince that ever swayed the English sceptre. This
" the then parliament being sensible of, and desir-
" ous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their
" sovereign, to disperse and dispel those black clouds
" that were contracted about him, that he might
" shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own
" lustre, thought themselves engaged in duty to en-
" deavour to redeem and rescue him from the vio-
" lent and strong impulses of his evil counsellors;
" who did captivate him at their pleasures to their
" own corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him
" into actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive
" to the common good and safety of the people.

" Upon this account, and to this, and no other
" end, were we at first invited to take up arms; and
" though we have too great cause to conclude from
" what we have since seen acted, that, under those
" plausible and gilded pretences of liberty and re-
" formation, there were secretly managed the hellish
" designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons,
" (whom though then, and for a long time after,
" concealed, Providence, and the series of things,
" have since discovered to us,) yet we bless God,
" that we went out in the simplicity of our souls,
" aiming at nothing more but what was publicly
" owned in the face of the sun; and that we were
" so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting
" off our allegiance to his majesty, or extirpating
" his family, that we had not the least intentions of
" so much as abridging him of any of his just pre-
" rogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of

"government for the future, which were nothing "but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were "more truly to be accounted the burdens, than or-"naments, of his royal diadem.

"These things, sir, we are bold to make recital of "to your majesty; not that we suppose your ma-"jesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take de-"light to derive the pedigree of our own and the "nation's misfortunes; but, like poor wildered tra-"vellers, perceiving that we have lost our way, we "are necessitated, though with tired and irksome "steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, "that we may discover where it was that we first "turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous "course in the progress of our journey. Thus far "we can say we have gone right, keeping the road "of honesty and sincerity, and having as yet done "nothing but what we think we are able to justify, "not by those weak and beggarly arguments, drawn "either from success, which is the same to the just "and to the unjust, or from the silence and satisfac-"tion of a becalmed conscience, which is more often "the effect of blindness than virtue, but from the "sure, safe, sound, and unerring maxims of law, "justice, reason, and righteousness.

"In all the rest of our motions ever since to this "very day, we must confess, we have been wander-"ing, deviating, and roving up and down, this way "and that way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, "and untrodden paths of fanatic and enthusiastic "notions, till now at last, but too late, we find our-"selves intricated and involved in so many wind-"ings, labyrinths, and meanders of knavery, that "nothing but a divine clue of thread handed to us

" from heaven, can be sufficient to extricate us, and " restore us. We know not, we know not, whether " we have juster matter of shame or sorrow admi- " nistered to us, when we take a reflex view of our " past actions, and consider into the commission of " what crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard " of villainies, we have been led, cheated, cozened, " and betrayed, by that grand impostor, that loath- " some hypocrite, that detestable traitor, that pro- " digy of nature, that *opprobrium* of mankind, that " landscape of iniquity, that sink of sin, and that " compendium of baseness, who now calls himself " our protector. What have we done, nay, what " have we not done, which either hellish policy was " able to contrive, or brutish power to execute? We " have trampled under foot all authorities; we have " laid violent hands upon our own sovereign; we " have ravished our parliaments; we have deflower- " ed the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a " yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of " our own countrymen; we have thrown down the " walls and bulwarks of the people's safety; we have " broken often-repeated oaths, vows, engagements, " covenants, protestations; we have betrayed our " trusts; we have violated our faiths; we have lifted " up our hands to heaven deceitfully; and that these " our sins might want no aggravation to make them " exceeding sinful, we have added hypocrisy to them " all; and have not only, like the audacious strum- " pet, wiped our mouths, and boasted *that we have* " *done no evil;* but in the midst of all our abomi- " nations (such as are too bad to be named amongst " the worst of heathens) we have not wanted impu- " dence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified:

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"let Jesus Christ be exalted: let his kingdom be "advanced: let the gospel be propagated: let the "saints be dignified: let righteousness be establish-"ed: *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potu-"isse, aut non potuisse refelli.*

"Will not the holy One of Israel visit? will not "the righteous One punish? will not he, who is the "true and faithful One, be avenged for such things "as these? will he not, nay has he not already, "come forth as a swift witness against us? has he "not whet his sword? has he not bent his bow? "has he not prepared his quiver? has he not al-"ready begun to shoot his arrows at us? Who is so "blind as not to see that the hand of the Almighty "is upon us, and that his anger waxes hotter and "hotter against us? How have our hopes been "blasted? how have our expectations been disap-"pointed? how have our ends been frustrated? All "those pleasant gourds, under which we were some-"times solacing and caressing ourselves, how are "they perished in a moment? how are they wither-"ed in a night? how are they vanished, and come "to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and righteous "are all his judgments. We have sown the wind, "and we have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown "faction, and we have reaped confusion; we have "sown folly, and we have reaped deceit: when we "looked for liberty, behold slavery; when we ex-"pected righteousness, behold oppression; when we "sought for justice, behold a cry, a great and a "lamentable cry throughout the whole nation.

"Every man's hand is upon his loins, every one "complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and "saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and an-

"guish, and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit, has "taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman in "travail. Surely we may take up the lamentation "of the prophet concerning this the land of our na-"tivity. How does England sit solitary? how is she "become as a widow? she, that was great amongst "the nations, and princess among the provinces, how "is she now become tributary? She weepeth sore "in the night; her tears are on her cheeks; amongst "all her lovers she hath none to comfort her; all "her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they "are become her enemies; she lifteth up her voice "in the streets, she crieth aloud in the gates of the "city, in the places of chief concourse, she sitteth, "and thus we hear her wailing and bemoaning her "condition; Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass "by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like "unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, where-"with the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his "fierce anger. The yoke of my transgressions is "bound by his hands, they are wreathed, and come "up upon my neck; he hath made my strength to "fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands "from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord "hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in the "midst of me; he hath called an assembly to crush "my young men; he hath trodden me as in a wine-"press; all that pass by clap their hands at me, "they hiss and wag their heads at me, saying, Is "this the nation that men call the perfection of "beauty? the joy of the whole earth? All mine "enemies have opened their mouths against me; they "hiss and gnash their teeth; they say, We have "swallowed her up; certainly this is the day that we "looked for, we have found, we have seen it.

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"How are our bowels troubled? how are our "hearts saddened? how are our souls afflicted, "whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the de-"solation of our dear country? It pitieth us, it piti-"eth us, that Sion should lie any longer in the dust. "But, alas! what shall we do for her in this day of "her great calamity? We were sometimes wise to "pull down, but we now want art to build; we "were ingenious to pluck up, but we have no skill "to plant; we were strong to destroy, but we are "weak to restore: whither shall we go for help? or "to whom shall we address ourselves for relief? If "we say, We will have recourse to parliaments, and "they shall save us; behold, they are broken reeds, "reeds shaken with the wind. They cannot save "themselves. If we turn to the army, and say, "They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, "it may be they will at last have pity upon us, and "deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of "iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength to "support us. If we go to him who had treacherously "usurped, and does tyrannically exercise an unjust "power over us, and say to him, Free us from this "yoke, for it oppresseth us, and from these burdens, "for they are heavier than either we are, or our fa-"thers ever were, able to bear; behold, in the pride "and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, You "are factious, you are factious; if your burdens are "heavy, I will make them yet heavier; if I have "hitherto chastised you with whips, I will hencefor "ward chastise you with scorpions.

"Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from "hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but "can find no rest; we look this way, and that way, "but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last

"we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only, "among ourselves, saying one to another, Why "should we not return to our first husband? Surely "it will be better with us then, than it is now. At "the first starting of this question amongst us, many "doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspi-"cions did arise within us. We were conscious to "ourselves, that we had dealt unkindly with him, "that we had treacherously forsaken him, that we "had defiled ourselves with other lovers, and that "our filthiness was still upon our skirts: therefore "were we apt to conclude, if we do not return unto "him, how can he receive us? or if he does receive "us, how can he love us? how can he pardon the "injuries we have done unto him? how can he for-"get the unkindness we have shewn unto him in "the day of his distress?

"We must confess (for we come not to deceive "your majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) "that these cowardly apprehensions did, for a while, "make some strong impressions upon us; and had "almost frighted us out of our newly conceived "thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long "before they vanished, and gave place to the more "noble and heroic considerations of common good, "public safety, the honour, peace, welfare, and pros-"perity of these nations; all which we are per-"suaded, and do find, though by too late experi-"ence, are as inseparably and as naturally bound up "in your majesty, as heat in fire, or light in the sun. "Contemning therefore and disdaining the mean "and low thoughts of our own private safety, "(which we have no cause to despair of, having to "deal with so good and so gracious a prince,) we

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"durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of personal concernment; but did think ourselves engaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this our humble address unto your majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet of your mercy: yet, lest we should seem to be altogether negligent of that first good, though since dishonoured, cause, which God has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the security of those, who, together with ourselves, being carried away with the delusive and hypocritical pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concurrence with those actions which may render them justly obnoxious to your majesty's indignation, we have presumed in all humility to offer unto your majesty these few propositions hereunto annexed; to which if your majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, before whose tribunal we know we must one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restoring and reestablishing your majesty in the throne of your father; and that we will never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to your majesty's commands to approve ourselves

"Your majesty's

"most humble, most faithful,

"and most devoted subjects and servants.

| | |
|---|---|
| "*W. Howard.* | *John Wildman.* |
| "*Ralph Jennings.* | *John Aumigeu.* |
| "*Edw. Penkaruan.* | *Randolph Hedworth.* |
| "*John Hedworth.* | *Thomas* |
| "*John Sturgion.* | *Rich. Reynolds.* |

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Their propositions annexed to it.

"The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all "humility presented to your majesty in these "following proposals, in order to an happy, "speedy, and well grounded peace in these "your majesty's dominions.

1. "Forasmuch as the parliament, called and con-"vened by the authority of his late majesty your "royal father, in the year 1640, was never legally "dissolved, but did continue their sitting until the "year 1648, at which time the army, violently and "treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has "ever since given a continued interruption to their "session, by taking away the whole house of lords, "and secluding the greatest part of the house of "commons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to "the end we may be established upon the ancient "basis and foundation of law) your majesty would "be pleased, by public proclamations, as soon as it "shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those per-"sons, as well lords as commons, who were then sit-"ting, to return to their places; and that your ma-"jesty would own them (so convened and met toge-"ther) to be the true and lawful parliament of "England.

2. "That your majesty would concur with the "parliament in the ratification and confirmation of "all those things granted and agreed unto by the "late king your father, at the last and fatal treaty "in the Isle of Wight; as also in the making and "repealing of all such laws, acts, and statutes, as by "the parliament shall be judged expedient and ne-"cessary to be made, and repealed, for the better "securing of the just and natural rights and liber-

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"ties of the people, and for the obviating and pre-"venting all dangerous and destructive excesses of "government for the future.

3. "Forasmuch as it cannot be denied, but that "our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death "and resurrection, has purchased the liberties of "his own people, and is thereby become their sole "Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, they "owe obedience in things spiritual; we do there-"fore humbly beseech your majesty, that you would "engage your royal word never to erect, nor suffer "to be erected, any such tyrannical, popish, and "Antichristian hierarchy, (episcopal, presbyterian, "or by what name soever it be called,) as shall as-"sume a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the "consciences of others; but that every one of your "majesty's subjects may hereafter be left at liberty "to worship God in such a way, form, and manner, "as shall appear to them to be agreeable to the "mind and will of Christ, revealed in his word, ac-"cording to that proportion or measure of faith and "knowledge which they have received.

4. "Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a bur-"den under which the whole nation groans in ge-"neral, and the people of God in particular, we "would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to "your majesty's consideration, that, if it be possible, "some other way may be found out for the mainte-"nance of that which is called the national ministry; "and that those of the separated and congregated "churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and "still are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. "Forasmuch as in these times of licence, con-"fusion, and disorder, many honest, godly, and reli-

"gious persons, by the crafty devices and cunning "pretences of wicked men, have been ignorantly "and blindly led, either into the commission of, or "compliance with, many vile, illegal, and abomina- "ble actions, whereof they are now ashamed; we "do therefore most humbly implore your majesty, "that an act of amnesty and oblivion may be grant- "ed for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging "all your majesty's long deceived and deluded sub- "jects, from the guilt and imputation of all crimes, "treasons, and offences whatsoever, committed or "done by them, or any of them, either against your "majesty's father, or yourself, since the beginning "of these unhappy wars, excepting only such who "do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls himself "protector, or who, in justification of his or any "other interest, shall, after the publication of this "act of grace, continue and persevere in their dis- "loyalty to your majesty."

The gentleman who brought this address, and these wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the king from the gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions; and told this gentleman, "that, though the first address could not be "prepared but with those demands, which might "satisfy the whole party, and comprehend all that "was desired by any of them, yet if the king gave "them such an encouragement, as might dispose

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"them to send some of the wisest of them to attend "his majesty, he would be able, upon conference "with them, to make them his instruments to re-"duce the rest to more moderate desires, when they "should discern, that they might have more protec-"tion and security from the king, than from any "other power that would assume the government." The letter was as followeth.

"May it please your majesty,

The letter to the king sent with the address.

"Time, the great discoverer of all things, has at "last unmasked the disguised designs of this myste-"rious age, and made that obvious to the dull sense "of fools, which was before visible enough to the "quicksighted prudence of wise men, viz. that li-"berty, religion, and reformation, the wonted en-"gines of politicians, are but deceitful baits, by "which the easily deluded multitude are tempted "to a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In the "unhappy number of these fools, I must confess "myself to have been one; who have nothing more "now to boast of, but only that, as I was not the "first was cheated, so I was not the last was unde-"ceived; having long since, by peeping a little (now "and then, as I had opportunity) under the vizard "of the impostor, got such glimpses, though but "imperfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under "the painted pretences of sanctity, as made me con-"clude, that the series of affairs, and the revolution "of a few years, would convince this blinded gene-"ration of their errors; and make them affrightedly "to start from him, as a prodigious piece of defor-"mity, whom they adored and reverenced as the "beautiful image of a deity.

"Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who "glories in no attribute more than to be acknow-"ledged the searcher of the inward parts, could no "longer endure the bold affronts of this audacious "hypocrite; but, to the astonishment and confusion "of all his idolatrous worshippers, has, by the un-"searchable wisdom of his deeplaid counsels, lighted "such a candle into the dark dungeon of his soul, "that there is none so blind who does not plainly "read treachery, tyranny, perfidiousness, dissimula-"tion, atheism, hypocrisy, and all manner of vil-"lainy, written in large characters on his heart; "nor is there any one remaining, who dares open "his mouth in justification of him, for fear of in-"curring the deserved character of being a pro-"fessed advocate for all wickedness, and a sworn "enemy to all virtue.

"This was no sooner brought forth, but presently "I conceived hopes of being able, in a short time, "to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty to "your majesty, which had long had entertainment "in my breast, but till now were forced to seek "concealment under a seeming conformity to the "iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of giving "birth to these designs was happily administered "by the following occasion.

"Great was the rage, and just the indignation "of the people, when they first found the authority "of their parliament swallowed up in the new name "of a protector; greater was their fury, and upon "better grounds, when they observed, that under "the silent, modest, and flattering title of this pro-"tector, was secretly assumed a power more abso-"lute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever

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"was pretended to by any king. The pulpits "straightways sound with declamations, the streets "are filled with pasquils and libels, every one ex-"presses a detestation of this innovation by public "invectives, and all the nation, with one accord, "seems at once to be inspired with one and the "same resolution of endeavouring valiantly to re-"deem that liberty, by arms and force, which was "treacherously stolen from them by deceit and "fraud.

"When they had for a while exercised themselves "in tumultuary discourses, (the first effects of popu-"lar discontents,) at length they begin to contrive "by what means to free themselves from the yoke "that is upon them. In order hereunto, several of "the chiefest of the malecontents enter into consul-"tations amongst themselves; to which they were "pleased to invite and admit me. Being taken into "their councils, and made privy to their debates, I "thought it my work to acquaint myself fully with "the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and prin-"ciples of them; which (though all meeting and "concentring in an irreconcileable hatred and ani-"mosity against the usurper) I find so various in "their ends, and so contrary in the means conduc-"ing to those ends, that they do naturally fall under "the distinction of different parties. Some, drunk "with enthusiasms, and besotted with fanatic no-"tions, do allow of none to have a share in govern-"ment besides the saints; and these are called "Christian royalists, or fifth-monarchy-men. Others "violently opposing this, as destructive to the liberty "of the free-born people, strongly contend to have "the nation governed by a continual succession of

" parliaments, consisting of equal representatives; BOOK XV.
" and these style themselves commonwealth's-men.
" A third party there is, who finding, by the ob- 1658.
" servation of these times, that parliaments are bet-
" ter physic than food, seem to incline most to mo-
" narchy, if laid under such restrictions as might
" free the people from the fear of tyranny; and
" these are contented to suffer under the opprobri-
" ous name of levellers: to these did I particularly
" apply myself; and after some few days' conference
" with them in private by themselves apart, I was
" so happy in my endeavours, as to prevail with
" some of them to lay aside those vain and idle pre-
" judices, grounded rather upon passion than judg-
" ment, and return, as their duty engaged them, to
" their obedience to your majesty. Having pro-
" ceeded thus far, and gained as many of the chief
" of them, whom I knew to be leaders of the rest, as
" could safely be intrusted with a business of this
" nature, (the success whereof does principally de-
" pend upon the secret management of it,) I thought
" I had nothing more now to do, but only to con-
" firm and establish them, as well as I could, in
" their infant allegiance, by engaging them so far in
" an humble address unto your majesty, that they
" might not know how to make either a safe or ho-
" nourable retreat.

" I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy
" gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to
" make answer to any such objections as may per-
" haps be made by your majesty, either as to the
" matter or manner of it. This only I would put
" your majesty in mind of, that they are but young
" proselytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest,

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"being urged at first too violently, they should re-"sist the more refractorily.

"As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say "they are either of great families, or great estates. "But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by "their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times, "I will not determine, they are such who may be "more serviceable to your majesty in this conjunc-"ture, than those whose names swell much bigger "than theirs with the addition of great titles. I "durst not undertake to persuade your majesty to "any thing, being ignorant by what maxims your "counsels are governed; but this I shall crave leave "to say, that I have often observed, that a desperate "game at chess has been recovered after the loss of "the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and "that the subscribers may not be of the same use to "your majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, "especially at such a time as this, when there is "scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board, "and those few others that are left may justly be "complained of in the words of Tacitus, *præsen-"tia et tuta, quam vetera et periculosa, malunt "omnes.*

"I have many things more to offer unto your ma-"jesty, but fearing I have already given too bold a "trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at pre-"sent; intending, as soon as I hear how your ma-"jesty resents this overture, to wait upon your ma-"jesty in person, and then to communicate that *viva "voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow "compass of an address of this nature. In the "mean time, if our services shall be judged useful "to your majesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy

"course may be taken for the advance of two thou-"sand pound, as well for the answering the expec-"tation of those whom I have already engaged, as "for the defraying of several other necessary ex-"penses, which do, and will every day inevitably "come upon us in the prosecution of our design.

"What more is expedient to be done by your ma-"jesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfac-"tion of those gentlemen who already are, or here-"after may be, brought over to the assistance of "your majesty's cause and interest, I shall commit "to the care of this honourable person; who being "no stranger to the complexion and constitution of "those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently "to inform your majesty by what ways and means "they may be laid under the strongest obligations "to your majesty's service.

"For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing "more, than only to give your majesty a small essay "of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to, your ma-"jesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your ma-"jesty, but that you would be pleased to account "me.

"May it please your majesty, &c."

The king believed that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before; and, "that he would be willing to confer with "some persons of that party, trusted by the rest, if "they would come over to him;" his majesty being then at Bruges. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a person of very extraor-

BOOK XV. 1658. dinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, but an anabaptist. He had been bred in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards in the inns of court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the king, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier in Cromwell's life-guard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic. But when that mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the king could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned into England very well satisfied with the king; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the king without any hope of other benefit from that party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell: for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the king; which could not be in his power to supply.

While these things were transacting, the king found every day, that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it:

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and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a country that was so great a scene of war, live unactive and unconcerned: so his majesty sent to don Juan, "that he would accompany him in the field "the next campaign, without expecting any cere-"mony, or putting him to any trouble." But the Spaniards sent him a formal message, and employed the earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said, "that they could not answer it "to his catholic majesty, if they should permit his "majesty, when his two brothers were already in "the army, and known to affect danger so much as "they did, likewise to engage his own royal person; "which they positively protested against." And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him: they were willing his majesty should remove to Brussels; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all

The king sent to don Juan, "that he would accompany him into the field;" which is refused.

The king present in the attempt upon Mardike.

The king leaves Bruges; and removes to

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possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the king, and being a man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Brussels, and never after returned to Bruges to reside there.

1658. Brussels in the end of Feb. 1658.

His majesty was no sooner come thither, but don Alonzo renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the levellers. He had formerly[y] prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his majesty willingly consented to, presuming that Sexby might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though they that sent the address well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the king, at least not so soon. The man, for an illiterate person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troops, and was afterwards one of those agitators who were made use of to control the parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he often[z] admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations,

An account of Sexby and his negociation.

[y] He had formerly] And to that purpose [z] often] frequently

and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army, and very much[a] undervalue the credit and interest of the king's party; and made such demands to the king, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which don Alonzo concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the king would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into Spain to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the king. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that Spaniard, than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master of ten thousand pistoles; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he got by his journey to Madrid; which did not use to be of small expense to that court[b].

Nothing that was yet to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men, that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their campaign, must be the siege of Dunkirk; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good: besides, their contract with Cromwell was no secret; yet the Spaniards totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the campaign with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of the year, the marquis de Leyde, governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had, in all respects, came to Brussels,

The marquis de Leyde came to Brussels to solicit for

[a] very much] wonderfully [b] to that court] to the Spaniard

BOOK XV. 1658. having sent several expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them, "that his in-"telligence was infallible, that marshal Turenne was "ready to march, and that the French king himself "would be in the field to countenance the siege of "Dunkirk, which he could not defend, if he were "not supplied with men, ammunition, and victual;" of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply; they telling him, "that he would not be besieged; that they were "sure the French meant to attempt Cambray;" which they provided the best they could, and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they "would relieve him with their army, and fight a "battle before he should be in danger." Being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and came to take his leave of the king as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said, "he was going to defend a "town without men, without ammunition, and with-"out victual, against a very strong and triumphant "army; that, if he could have obtained supplies in "any reasonable degree, he should have been able "to have entertained them some time; but in the "condition he was in, he could only lose his life "there; which he was resolved to do:" and spoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Supplies for Dunkirk, but in vain.

Dunkirk besieged by the French army.

Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before Dunkirk; and then the Spaniard believed it; and made what haste they could to draw their army together, which was very much dispersed, so that, before they were upon their

march, the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. Now they found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the Spaniards had taken a full view of the posture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, don Juan, and the marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the army should be ranged; which the prince of Condé dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the marshal Turenne would do in that case; "and that he would "still maintain the siege, and give them likewise "battle upon the advantage of the ground; whereas, "if they would place their army near another part "of the line, they should easily have communication "with the town, and compel the French to fight "with more equal hazards."

The prince of Condé's advice to the Spaniards not hearkened to.

It might very reasonably be said of the prince of Condé and marshal Turenne, what a good Roman historian said heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius; that "*in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in* "*contrariis fecere;* they had in the same armies "learned that discipline, and those stratagems, which "they afterwards practised against each other in "enemy armies;" and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "if we "do not make great haste to possess such a pass,"

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(which they never thought of,) "marshal Turenne "will take it, though it be much farther from him;" and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own troops to possess the place, even when the French were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish army from many distresses. And marshal Turenne had the same caution, and governed himself according as the prince of Condé was in the rear or van of the army; and, upon the matter, only considered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable instance two years before, when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the duke of York was present with marshal Turenne. The Spaniards had made themselves so very strong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the line. Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the line very frequently, that some of his company were killed within much less than musket shot. In the end, he called some of the principal officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, assault the line," at a place which he shewed to them; which the officers wondered at; and said, "it was the strongest "part of the line; and that they had observed to "him, that the whole line on the other side was "very much weaker:" to which the marshal replied, "You do not know who keeps that line; we shall

"do no good there; monsieur le prince never sleeps, "and that is his post; but I will tell you, what will "fall out on the other side;" for he had himself marched in the Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it. He told them then, "that "it would be very long, before the soldiers upon the "line, or the adjacent guard, would believe that the "French were in earnest, and that they would in "truth at that time of day assault them; but would "think, that they meant only to give them an alarm; "which they were never warm in receiving: that "when the Spaniards were convinced that the "French were in earnest, in which time he should "be got near their line, they would send to the "count of Fuensaldagña, who at that time of day "was usually asleep, and his servants would not be "persuaded to waken him in a moment. He would "then send for his horse, and ride up to the line; "which when he saw, he would with some haste "repair to the archduke's tent; who was likewise "at his siesto, and when he was awake, they would "consult what was to be done; by which time," the marshal said, "they should have done:" and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the prince of Condé was in so good order upon the first alarm, that when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

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Notwithstanding the advice which the prince of

The battle of Dunkirk.

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Condé had given, don Juan was positive in his first resolution. The prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most enclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. Our king's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the enclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (whom, though enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty, and some blows of muskets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army, that the duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness.

The day being thus lost with a greater rout and

confusion than loss of men, don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken; which was the present business of marshal Turenne; who found the marquis de Leyde resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the Spanish army was retired into fastness. The marquis de Leyde, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from don Juan, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally upon the enemy; who, though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The marquis was a much greater loss than the town; which the master of the field may be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth the death of the marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety, after his way[c]; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the church; to which he was most devoted.

Don Juan after the loss of the battle retires to Ypres.

The marquis de Leyde sallies upon the enemy; is repulsed, and slain.

[c] after his way] *Not in MS.*

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The town of Dunkirk surrendered; and the French king delivers it to the English.

Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of their army. The French king, being by this time come to the camp with the cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. Thus the treaty was performed between them; and that king went presently to Calais, and from thence sent the duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the cardinal, to London to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son-in-law, the lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with that king for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligations "never to make peace without "each other's consent."

When don Juan had first removed from Brussels, and the army marched into the field, the king had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Brussels, whilst all the world was in action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk, and the loss of that place. So he removed to a village called Hochstraten; where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his court. Thither the king went about the month of August; the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda.

The king retires to Hochstraten in August.

sometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before. BOOK XV.

There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the subjects in the States' dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstraten is an open village belonging to the count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the manor large of extent, and of great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great licence, it is so poor, that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the king, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the king of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander,) the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good linen, and some plate in every house; the people jolly[d], well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with 1658.

[d] jolly] fat

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all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed with[e] extreme barrenness, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lies equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all licence upon their poor neighbours of Hochstraten; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

Whilst the king spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as don Juan, and the rest, remained about Furnes and Bruges, sent an express to the king to let him know, "that the letters from "England, and some passengers, reported confi-"dently that Cromwell was dead;" which, there having been no news of his sickness, was not at first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Brussels, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great[f] an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

The king has notice that Cromwell was dead.

The king returns to Brussels upon it.

Cromwell's affairs some time before his death.

It had been observed in England, that, though from the dissolution of the last parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the crown; but was

[e] with] by [f] great] wonderful

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out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his guards both before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

Syndercome's design against him a good while before this.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the king no good. And a good while before this,[g] when he had discovered the design of Syndercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and

[g] a good while before this,] *Not in MS.*

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it was manifest that he had many more associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe, that a party in the army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge, "that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, "and three or four of the guard always with him "day and night."

At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of were placed upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called Syndercome to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice: nor could he suppress that scandal. It appeared upon examination,[h] that the night before, when he

[h] It appeared upon examination,] *Thus in MS.:* Though it did appear upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and whilst they spake together at the bed-side, he rubbed his nose with his hand, of which they then took no notice; and she going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, with some snuffling in his nose, and said, "this was the last bed "he should ever go into;" and seemed to turn to sleep, and never in the whole night made the least noise or motion, save that he sneezed once. When the physicians and surgeons opened his head, they found he had snuffed up through his nostrils some very well prepared poison, that in an instant curdled all his blood in that region, which presently suffocated him.

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was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and upon her going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, and said, "this was the last bed he should "ever go into." His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

The death of the earl of Warwick, and earl's grandson.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the earl of Warwick; with whom he had a fast friendship; though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end; the other branches of it abhorring his alliance. His domestic delights were lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypole; who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude, that she had presented his worst

The death of Cromwell's daughter Claypole.

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actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

Cromwell seized on by an ague in August.

Whatever it was, about the middle of August, he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated: so that he returned again to Whitehall, when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he himself was of the same mind, and[i] did not think he should die, till even the time that his spirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his "eldest son Richard;" and so expired upon the third day of September, 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories[k]. And this now was[l] a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea; and the tempest[m] was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for, besides the wrecks

He appoints his son Richard his successor; and expires Sept. 3.

The terrible storm on the same day.

[i] was of the same mind, and] Not in MS.

[k] for two of his greatest victories.] for several victories.

[l] And this now was] Not in MS.

[m] the tempest] Not in MS.

all along the sea-coast, many boats were cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was universally [n] known. BOOK XV. 1658.

His character. He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent;* whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: [o] for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said [p] of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent:* he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. [q] Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass

[n] universally] *Not in MS.*

[o] whom his very enemies—time:] *This translation not in MS.*

[p] What was said] What Velleius Paterculus said

[q] he attempted—succeeded.] *This translation is not given in MS.*

BOOK XV. 1658. what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs[r], without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate[s] the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time,[t] when he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as

[r] designs] trophies
[s] conciliate] reconcile
[t] One time,] *Not in MS.*

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"an imposition notoriously against the law, and the "property of the subject, which all honest men "were bound to defend." Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of "the old kind-"ness, and friendship, that had been between them; "and that of all men he did not expect this opposi-"tion from him, in a matter that was so necessary "for the good of the commonwealth." It had been always[u] his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him, how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that all who submitted to them, and "paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater "enemies to their country, than they who had "imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes "could never be grievous, but by the tameness and "stupidity of the people." When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that "he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try "which of them two should be master." Thereupon, with some expressions[x] of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the king's bench, which they then called the upper bench. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality

[u] It had been always] But it was always

[x] expressions] terms

BOOK XV. 1658. of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that licence; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and magna charta, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt and derision,[y] "their magna "f—— should not control his actions; which he "knew were for the safety of the commonwealth." He asked them, "who made them judges? whether "they had any authority to sit there, but what he "gave them? and if his authority were at an end, "they knew well enough what would become of "themselves; and therefore advised them to be "more tender of that which could only preserve "them;" and so dismissed them with caution, "that "they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what "it would not become them to hear."

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster-hall as obedient, and subservient to his commands, as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory,

[y] with terms of contempt and derision,] *Not in MS.*

and durst contend[a] with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used great civility[a], generosity, and bounty. BOOK XV. 1658.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily risen in arms[b] against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his ships in "the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia; "and that the sound of his cannon should be heard "in Rome,") that the duke of Savoy thought it ne-

Two instances of his interest among foreign princes.

[a] durst contend] dared to contend

[a] great civility] a wonderful civility

[b] risen in arms] rebelled

BOOK XV. 1658. cessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there to "give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, "and to be sure that the election should be fairly "made." The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the

town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there "appeared to be no manner of combination with "those of the religion in other places of the pro-"vince; but that it was an insolence in those of the "place, upon the presumption of their great num-"bers, which were little inferior to those of the ca-"tholics." The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, "that they were glad they were "sensible of their miscarriage; but they could say "nothing upon the subject, till the king's pleasure

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"should be known; to whom they had sent a full "relation of all that had passed." The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins,[c] who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpelier, to Cromwell to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him "refresh himself after so long a journey, "and he would take such care of his business, that "by the time he came to Paris he should find it de- "spatched;" and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder, that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging, "that "the people would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom,

[c] one Moulins,] *MS. adds:* a Scotchman,

besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her, "that he knew "not how to behave himself; if he advised the king "to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell "threatened him to join with the Spaniard; and if "he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they ac"counted him an heretic."

The conclusion of his character.

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method[d]; which prescribes, upon a total alteration[e] of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre "of all the royal party, as the only expedient to se"cure the government," but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt[f] of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes[g] against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities[h] which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.[i]

[d] To conclude—method] He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavel's method

[e] upon a total alteration] upon any alteration

[f] too great a contempt] too much contempt

[g] as he was guilty of many crimes] as he had all the wickednesses

[h] good qualities] virtues

[i] brave wicked man.] brave bad man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

# THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

## BOOK XVI.

ZECH. xi. 4, 5, 6.

*Thus saith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the slaughter;*
*Whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord; for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.*
*But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king.*[a]

BOOK XVI.

1658.

The beginning of Richard's government.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never submit to be under him[b]. Besides the expectation the king had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in it, and of command in the army, who

[a] ZECH. xi. 4, 5, 6.—*his king.*] *Not in MS.*

[b] to be under him] to that subordination

BOOK XVI. 1658.

professed to prepare for such a conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from Cromwell's death might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son is[c] proclaimed his lawful successor; the army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service, than they were for his father's; and most counties in England, by addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His son inherits all his greatness, and all his glory, without the[d] public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new protector: so that the king's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which now seemed to blast[e] all their hopes, and confirm[f] their utmost despair.

It is probable that this melancholic prospect might

[c] is] was
[d] the] that
[e] which now seemed to blast] had blasted
[f] confirm] confirmed

have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his council thought it necessary that he should call a parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made with the crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the spring to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that king against Denmark; at least to induce[g] Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance of[h] parliament; and therefore the new protector sent out his writs to call a parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him; and sent out his writs to call those as peers who had constituted the other house in the former parliament; and so both lords and commons met at the day assigned.

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1658.

He calls a parliament to meet Jan. 27, 1659.

It meets on that day.

Richard came to the parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had done[i]; and sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to the commons, that they should attend him in the other house; where, first by himself, and then by the keeper of his great seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain, and the assistance of the king of Sweden in the Sound. He

The business recommended to them by the protector.

[g] induce] oblige [h] of] by [i] had done] had used to do

BOOK XVI. 1659.

had so good fortune at the beginning[k], that all the commons signed an engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner enclosed within those walls, than there appeared the old republican spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It begun with inquiring into the accounts, how the money had been spent, and into the offices of excise and customs, and what was become of all that revenue. When they were called upon to settle the act of recognition, to confirm Richard, and his authority in the state, they would first inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other house; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the government already established, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this argument they exercised themselves with great licence, as well upon the creator of those peers, and the power of the late protector, as upon his creatures the peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to[l]. They put the house in mind, "how grievous it had been to the "kingdom, that the bishops had sat in the house of "peers, because they were looked upon as so many "votes for the king; which was a reason much "stronger against these persons; who were all the "work of the protector's own hand, and therefore "could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to "his interest." They concluded, "that they could "not, with good consciences, and without the guilt

Differences rise in the house of commons about the accounts of money, and about the other house, &c.

[k] beginning] entrance [l] were now grown to] were in

"of perjury, ever consent, that that other house "should have any part in the government, since "they had all taken the engagement, that there "should be no more any house of peers, and since[m] "the office of protector had been and might still "continue without it."

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the house, "that they would "meet, and confer with the other house, as a part "of the parliament, during this present parliament; "and likewise, that such other persons, as had a "right to come to that other house, and had not for-"feited it by their breach of trust," (by which they meant those lords who had been always against the king,) "should not be restrained from coming thi-"ther:" yet the temper of the house of commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condescension to the royal party; but more for the countenance of the presbyterians; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a republic, was looked upon as favourable to the protector.

It was carried, that the other house should be allowed.

The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new council of officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to consult[n] with them; they neither liked protector, nor parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both

A new council of officers met, who consult about the government.

[m] and since] and that [n] consult] sit

BOOK XVI. 1659. Their address to Richard, April 6, 1659.

together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him; in which they complained of "the great "arrears of pay that were due to the army, by "which they were in great straits: that they, who "had borne the brunt of the war, and undergone "all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now un-"dervalued, derided, and laid aside: that the good "old cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by ma-"lignants and disaffected persons; who grew every "day more insolent, and their numbers increased, "by the resort out of Flanders, and other places; "and they had several secret meetings in the city of "London: that the names of all those who had sat "upon the late king as his judges, were lately print-"ed°, and scattered abroad, as if they were designed "to destruction; and that many suits were com-"menced at common law against honest men, for "what they had transacted in the war as soldiers: "that those famous acts which had been performed "in the long parliament, and by the late protector, "were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all "which," they said, "it was very manifest, that the "good old cause was declined; which they were re-"solved to assert. And therefore they besought his "highness to represent those their complaints to the "parliament, and to require proper and speedy re-"medies."

This address was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, on April 6th, 1659; which was no sooner known, than Tichburn and Ireton,

° printed] printed in red letters

two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise a remonstrance, and sent it to the council of officers; in which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for what they called [p] the nation's good.

The city militia second them.

The parliament was quickly alarmed with these cabals of the army and the city; which Richard was as much terrified with as they. In order to the suppression thereof, the parliament voted, "that there "should be no meeting, or general council of officers, "without the protector's consent, and by his order: "and, that no person should have commands by sea "or land, in either of the three nations, who did not "immediately subscribe, that he would not disturb "the free meeting of parliaments, or of any mem-"bers in either house of parliament; nor obstruct "their freedom in debates and counsels." These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford-house, where the council of officers then sat.

Votes of the parliament upon it.

These officers were men who resolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood and Desborough to Richard (the first had married his sister; the other was his uncle: both raised by Cromwell) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard of the nearness of their alliance, and their obligation to and depend-

The officers advise him to dissolve the parliament.

[p] what they called] *Not in MS.*

ence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, "to prevent "the nation's being engaged in blood; which," he said, "would inevitably fall out, if the parliament "were not presently dissolved." Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was im-"possible for him to keep both the parliament and "the army his friends;" wished him "to choose "which he would prefer: if he dissolved the parlia-"ment out of hand, he had the army at his devo-"tion; if he refused that, he believed the army "would quickly pull him out of Whitehall."

Advice to Richard to the contrary.

The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive counsel. Besides many members of the parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance, "that the parliament would "continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders "of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to the "parliament; but if he were prevailed upon to dis-"solve it, he would be left without a friend; and "they who had compelled him to do so imprudent "an action would contemn him when he had done "it;"

And of some officers of the army.

some officers of the army likewise, of equal courage and interest with any of the rest, persuaded him "to reject the desire of those who called them-"selves the council of the army, and to think of "punishing their presumption." Ingoldsby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and, the two former, men of signal courage, offered to stand by him; and one of them offered to kill Lambert,

(whom they looked upon as the author of this conspiracy,) if he would give him a warrant to that purpose.

Richard continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, Desborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his keeper of the seal, to dissolve the parliament the next morning; of which the parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes sent for them to the other house, the commons shut the door of their house, and would not suffer the gentleman usher of the black rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of April, imagining that they should by that time convert the protector from destroying himself. But the poor creature was so hared by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the council of officers appointing guards to attend at Westminster, which kept out those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the house upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the son suffered himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the greatness and power, which the father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

He is prevailed with to dissolve the parliament.

He issues out a proclamation to that purpose; whereupon his protectorship was at an end.

When the council of officers had, with this strange success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior; or, as the

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phrase then was, removed the *single person;* they knew that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe, and those other officers, who had dissuaded Richard from submitting to their advice, from having any command in the army; which they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Oliver, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republican to their wish; and, that the government might return to be purely such, they published a declaration upon the sixth of May, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and accusing [q] themselves, "for having been instrumental in de-"clining from it; whence all the ills, the common-"wealth had sustained, had proceeded, and the vin-"dication whereof they were resolved to pursue for "the future;" they remembered, "that the long par-"liament, consisting of those members who had con-"tinued to sit till the twentieth of April 1653," (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the house, and dismissed them,) "had been eminent "assertors of that cause, and had a special presence "of God with them, and were signally blessed in "that work." They said, "that the desires of "many good people concurring with them, they did, "by that declaration, according to their duty, invite "those members to return to the discharge of their "trust, as they had done before that day;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places,

The council of officers restore Lambert, &c. to the army, and remove many of Cromwell's friends.

They issue a declaration to restore the long parliament, May 6.

[q] accusing] excusing

"to yield them their utmost assistance, that they "might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling "and securing the peace and quiet of the common-"wealth, for which they had now so good an oppor-"tunity." [r]And this declaration, within very few days, they seconded with what they called *The humble petition and address of the officers of the army to the parliament;* which contained several advices, or rather positive directions how they were to govern.[r]

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This restoring the rump parliament was the only way[s] in which they could most[t] agree, though it was not suitable to what some[u] of them desired: they well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving members of that parliament would pretend a title to sit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the house. When Lenthal, the old speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the declaration, took their places in the house, and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the house was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons, who well knew all the members, to inform the guards, who were, and who were not, to go into the house.

Some of the old excluded members went into the house with them, but were excluded again.

[r] And this declaration—to govern.] *Not in MS.*

[s] This restoring—the only way] This was the only way

[t] most] all

[u] some] most

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By this means that cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again, seemed [x] to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots [y].

We must, for the better observation and distinction of the several changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repossessed of it [z], by the style they called themselves, the parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a protector, or the name of a protector, in being, and residing in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have

The parliament sent to Richard

[x] seemed] seemed to all

[y] to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots] *Thus continued in MS:* and it did for the present make so deep an impression in the hearts of many, that when an overture was at that time made from Spain to make the duke of York admiral of his galleys, which the king for many reasons suspended giving his consent unto, the chief servants about his royal highness were so transported with the proposition, that they were very much troubled that their master made not all the haste that was possible to be possessed of the charge; and endeavoured all they could to persuade the duke, that they who prevailed with the king not to give his consent were his enemies, and would not have him to be in a condition in which he might be able to live like a prince. And when in discourse they were desired to consider, that if the duke went into Spain, he could not be permitted to enter into that charge, what title soever he might have given to him, unless he changed his religion and became catholic; and what the consequence of that might be in England, they were so far from being moved with the argument, and in that despair of ever seeing England, that they thought the religion of it not worth the insisting on.

[z] of it] of the government

hope they would be his good masters, first to inquire into the state of his debts, and then to demand of him, whether he acquiesced in the present government? He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, "in which," he said, "was contained the state of "his debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

to know whether he acquiesced, and submitted to their authority.

To the other question, his answer was likewise in writing; "that he trusted, his carriage and beha-"viour had manifested his acquiescence in the will "and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and "valued the peace of the commonwealth much "above his private concernment; desiring by this, "that a measure of his future comportment might "be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should "be such as should bear the same witness; he hav-"ing, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to "reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be "unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence "that had fallen out, however, in respect to the par-"ticular engagement that lay upon him, he could "not be active in making a change in the govern-"ment of the nations, yet, through the goodness of "God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made; "and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he "might expect protection from the present govern-"ment, so to demean himself with all peaceableness "under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his "power, that all in whom he had interest should do "the same."

This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was

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lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the frankness[a] of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the parliament. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow, and four other commissioners.

Henry Cromwell likewise submits, and resigns his commission of lieutenant of Ireland. The parliament makes Ludlow, and four other commissioners, governors of Ireland.

It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable Richard, though it happened[b] long afterwards; because there will be scarce[c] again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the king's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the king; who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that

[a] frankness] jolliness
[b] it happened] *Omitted in MS.*
[c] be scarce] not be

kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party; and pitched upon Geneva. Making his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc, he passed through Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then governor of Languedoc, made his residence in it.



In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all strangers who came to that town "used to wait upon the prince of Conti, the go-"vernor of the province; who expected it, and al-"ways treated strangers, and particularly the Eng-"lish, with much civility: that he need not be "known, but that he himself would first go to the "prince and inform him, that another English gen-"tleman was passing through that town towards "Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to "kiss his hands." The prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the king, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. "Well," said the prince, "Oliver, though he was a "traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great "parts, great courage, and was worthy to com-

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"mand: but that Richard, that coxcomb, *coquin*, "*poltron*, was surely the basest fellow alive. What "is become of that fool? how was it possible he "could be such a sot?" He answered, "that he "was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and "who had been most obliged by his father;" so being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the king's restoration.

Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them. So does the navy.

Monk from Scotland presented his obedience to the parliament, and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command, to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered their submission. The ambassadors who were in the town quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them, as their good allies, making all the professions to them, which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard.

They continued Lockhart ambassador in France. They send ambassadors to mediate peace between the two northern crowns.

The parliament continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the cardinal, and knew well the intrigues[d] of that court. They sent ambassadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between those two crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, with-

[d] intrigues] bowels

out parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. That they might throughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of the parliament's former dissolution, and of all the mischief which had followed.

They pass an act of indemnity to the army.

Now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and their government well settled, to the general content of the people of their party[e], who testified the same by their acclamations[f], and likewise by particular addresses. And, that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a general, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make that impossible, as they thought[g], they appointed "the speaker to execute the office of general, in such manner as they should direct; and "that all commissions should be granted by him, "and sealed with their own seal;" all the seals used by the Cromwells being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the speaker was admiral as well as general) delivered up their commissions, and took new ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

They appoint all commissions military to be signed by the speaker.

But these men had not sat long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the

[e] of their party] *Not in MS.*

[f] acclamations] general acclamations

[g] as they thought] *Not in MS.*

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contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the king's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority with themselves [h]. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less control exercise their tyranny over the poor broken cavaliers. So they made a present order, "to banish all who had ever manifested "any affection to the king, or his father, twenty "miles from London;" and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forborne to execute; by which many persons were committed to prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another classis, to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new general; and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure; and the officers thought they had deserved more than an act of indemnity, for restoring them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as the parliament remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

They banish all cavaliers 20 miles from London.

This universal temper raised the spirits again of the king's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the parliament, and been

The king's party begins to move.

[h] with themselves] *Not in MS.*

afterwards disobliged both by Cromwell and the rump parliament [i], very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the king's reestablishment. Those members of the long parliament, who, after the treaty of the Isle of Wight, were by violence kept from the house, took it in great indignation, that they, upon whom the said violence was practised afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the soldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any commotion "in the kingdom, they would go no farther to sup-"press it, than Lenthal should lead them."

Mr. Mordaunt, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man; and was so well trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdom, "that if the king would "assign them a day, and promise to come to them "after they were embodied, they would not fail to "appear at the day." Whereupon, Mr. Mordaunt ventured himself to come in disguise to the king to Brussels, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the king most relied, to encourage other men, and to desire that his majesty would, by him, require them to concur with the rest.

Mr. Mordaunt comes to Brussels to acquaint the king with the preparations.

[i] both by Cromwell and the rump parliament] by Cromwell

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It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England, where there was not a formed[k] undertaking by the most powerful men of that county[l], to possess themselves of some considerable place in it[m]; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the king to venture his own person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the government, to be settled in it.

A design of surprising Lynne by the lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horatio Townsend.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation, and likewise of the good affection of the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of sir Horatio Townsend: who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the parliament, and was in great credit with the presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of the war, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow money; and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the king's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

And a design upon Gloucester by Massey.

Another design, which was looked upon as ripe too, was the surprisal of Gloucester, a town very ad-

[k] formed] formal [l] county] country [m] in it] in that county

vantageously situated upon the river of Severn, that would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester; both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure, as soon as Gloucester should be possessed; which major general Massey, who had been formerly governor thereof, and defended it too well against the king, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the king an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

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The lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury; and, for the making that communication perfect, sir George Booth, a person of one of the best fortunes and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewise served the parliament, and was one of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the king's party in those counties [n]. In the west, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, Trelawny, [o] and the rest of the king's friends [p] in Cornwall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plymouth, but were sure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the north, by men very ready to venture all they had.

The gentlemen of Shropshire ready.

Sir George Booth undertakes Chester.

Sir Thomas Middleton to join with him.

In the west, designs upon Plymouth and Exeter.

[n] counties] parts
[o] Trelawny,] *Not in MS.*
[p] of the king's friends] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XVI. 1659. When the king received this account in gross from a person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security,) and likewise found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "that, though any "discovery should be made, and any persons impri- "soned, the rest would proceed as soon as the day "should be appointed by the king," his majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon such a day of the month; and that his brother the duke of York should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

A discovery of the treachery of sir Richard Willis.

[q] There happened at this time the discovery of a vile treachery, which had done the king's affairs much harm; and, had it been longer concealed, would have done much more.[q] From the death of Oliver, some of those who were in the secretest part of his affairs discerned evidently, that their new protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the king, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy, Mr. Moreland,[r] sent an

[q] There happened at—much more.] There was in this conjuncture a very unhappy accident, which did do much harm, and might have done much more.

[r] Mr. Moreland,] *Not in MS.*

express to the king, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him some advices, what his majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his service to his majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised the king of a person who was much trusted by his majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he "had received a large pension from Cromwell, and "that he continually gave Thurlow intelligence of "all that he knew; but that it was with so great "circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that in his contract he had promised to "make such discoveries, as should prevent any danger to the state; but that he would never endanger "any man's life, nor be produced to give in evidence "against any: and that this very person had discovered the marquis of Ormond's being in London "the last year, to Cromwell; but could not be induced to discover where his lodging was; only undertook his journey should be ineffectual, and that "he should quickly return; and then they might "take him if they could; to which he would not "contribute." To conclude, his majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The king at first believes it not.

The king, and they who were most trusted by him in his secret transactions, believed not this information: but concluded that it was contrived to amuse

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The character of the person accused.

him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused was sir Richard Willis; who had[s] from the beginning to the end of the war, except at Newark,[t] given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the king had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his friends would have thought he had received ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the marquis of Ormond, who had communicated more with him, than with any man in England, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations and advices, that were sent by the person who accused him[u], were very important, and could have no end but his majesty's service; and the offices that gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good, that he expected no reward, till the king should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman, who did not look for the charges of his journey: and how could it have been known to Cromwell, that that person

[s] The gentleman accused was sir Richard Willis; who had] The gentleman accused had

[t] except at Newark,] *Not in MS.*

[u] by the person who accused him] *Not in MS.*

had been trusted by the marquis of Ormond, if he had not discovered it himself?

In this perplexity, his majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him "of the infidelity of that gentleman, or make him "withdraw his trust from him, but the evidence of "his hand-writing; which was well known." This messenger no sooner returned to London, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

The accuser clearly proves the things by letters, &c.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he seldom[x] communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the king's party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Massey's design upon Gloucester, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the king's party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and

[x] seldom] never

BOOK XVI. 1659. resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the king's councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the person of the king.

It was a new perplexity to the king, that he knew not by what means to communicate this treachery to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his majesty of that service, which must be of great[y] moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Brussels, and informed his majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that some message might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one,) "who," he said, "were principally trusted by his "majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary "and incredulous, that others were more[z] discou-"raged by their coldness:" and therefore wished, "that they might be quickened, and required to "concur with the most forward." Hereupon the king asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming sir Richard Willis[a]: Mr. Mordaunt answered, "it was of him they complained principally; "who, they thought, was the cause of all the wari-"ness in the rest; who looked upon him not only "as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and dis-"creet man; and therefore, for the most part, all "debates were referred to him; and he was so much "given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and

[y] great] huge
[z] more] much
[a] naming sir Richard Willis] naming the person

"making things unpracticable, that most men had "an unwillingness to make any proposition to him." The king asked him, "whether he had any sus-"picion of his want of honesty?" The other answered, "that he was so far from any such suspi-"cion, that, though he did not take him to be his "friend, by reason of the many disputes and contra-"dictions frequently between them, he would put "his life into his hand to-morrow."

The king communicates the discovery to Mr. Mordaunt.

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man; and therefore his majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the king charged him "no farther to "communicate with that person, and to give his "friends such caution, as might not give a greater "disturbance to his affairs, by raising new factions "amongst them, or provoke him to do more mis-"chief, which it was in his power to do." But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the person who gave the king the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to look upon sir Richard Willis[b] as faithful to the king, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

The discoverer publishes papers to forewarn the king's friends of this person.

[b] upon sir Richard Willis] upon such a man (who was named)

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It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the king, upon a day named, about the middle of July; there being commissions in every county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces, who had a superior commission from the king. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the king's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a state of affairs, could be advised[c].

The king, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at Calais; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at Brussels, that his majesty had left the town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France, as in England. Therefore, as the king went out in the morning, so the duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way: his highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his command in the army. The king went attended by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides,) and two or three servants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and so they found their way to

The king goes to Calais.

[c] advised] devised

Calais; where they stayed. The duke of York, with four or five of his own menial servants, and the lord Langdale, who desired to attend his highness, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The duke of York to Boulogne.

The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect; every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons, throughout the kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the year, being the middle of July. The night before, there had been an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons over England, who were drawing to their appointed rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

The disappointment of all the designs in England.

In the beginning of the night, when Massey was going for Gloucester, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill, with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the soldier, who was upon the same horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell

Massey seized on; but escapes.

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from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon strong places, only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horatio Townsend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt.

Sir George Booth seized Chester; and sir Thomas Middleton joins with him.

Only sir George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county, of those who had never been of the king's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night, and the next morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet sir George being himself there with a good troop of horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Their declaration.

Then they published their declaration, rather against those who called themselves the parliament, and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the king's interest. They

said, "that, since God had suffered[d] the spirit of di- "vision to continue in this nation, which was left "without any settled foundation of religion, liberty, "and property, the legislative power usurped at "pleasure, the army raised for its defence misled by "their superior officers, and no face of government "remaining, that was lawfully constituted; there- "fore, they, being sensible of their duty, and utter "ruin, if these distractions should continue, had "taken arms in vindication of the freedom of par- "liaments, of the known laws, liberty, and property, "and of the good people of this nation groaning "under insupportable taxes: that they cannot de- "spair of the blessing of God, nor of the cheerful "concurrence of all good people, and of the unde- "ceived part of the army; whose arrears and future "advancement they would procure, suffering no im- "position or force on any man's conscience." But though they mentioned nothing of his majesty in express terms, they gave all countenance and recep- tion, and all imaginable assurance to the king's party; who had directions from the king to concur, and to unite themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other

[d] They said, "that, since "God had suffered] *This declaration is omitted in the MS., and the following substance of it only given:* And desiring well affected men of all conditions, especially the city of London, to join with them, in order to the calling a free parliament, for settling the government of the nation in church and state, to the determinations whereof they would willingly submit, and lay down their arms, with those expressions, which they knew would be most acceptable to the presbyterians; but giving all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the king's party, who had all direction from the king to concur and to unite themselves to them.

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places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. They who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves to march to Chester, if sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the work too soon; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which, they knew, were devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was

The parliament sends Lambert against them.

himself esteemed[e] brave upon any action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that sir George Booth found he was within less than a day's march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle,) and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short encounter, routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the gates of Chester were opened to Lambert; sir George Booth himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent prisoner to the Tower.



Who routs sir George Booth and takes Chester.

Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong castle of his own; and he thought neither the man, nor the place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one man to oppose the whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, Middleton accepted such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly house, for the strength of the situation, to be pulled down.

Sir Thomas Middleton delivers up his castle.

[e] esteemed] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XVI. 1569.

This success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to make all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the behalf of the king, many [f] of the nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that the very suspecting them should be sufficient reason to continue them there. [g]

When the king came to Calais, where he received accounts every day from England of what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and some other counties [h], stood fair; whereupon the king resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of England, where [i], with least hazard, he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him, and so went to the coast of Bretagne.

The king removes to the coast of Bretagne.

[f] many] most

[g] that the very suspecting them should be sufficient reason to continue them there.] that their suspicion should be their conviction.

[h] and some other counties] *Not in MS.*

[i] where] from whence

The duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex; which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. In this expectation, his royal highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend marshal Turenne; who very frankly assigned him some troops; and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the cardinal, who was then upon the borders of Spain,[k] should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his highness was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the king, after his visiting St. Maloes, was at Rochelle, in hope to find a conveniency for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations, as ever Cromwell had been.

The duke of York confers with monsieur Turenne; who offers assistance.

The king receives news of sir George Booth's defeat.

Struck with this dismal relation,[l] the king and his brother seemed to have nothing else to do, but to make what haste they could out of France; where it was thought they could not now be found with safety. The duke of York returned speedily

The duke returns to Brussels.

[k] who was then upon the borders of Spain,] *Not in MS.*

[l] Struck with this dismal relation,] *Thus in MS.:* Struck with this dismal relation, they had nothing to do but to make what haste they could back to Brussels, and were obliged to use more than ordinary caution to get themselves out of France again, where they could not be found with safety. The duke of York, being much nearer, came thither first; and shortly after the king returned, less dejected, &c. *as in p.* 338, *l.* 1.

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1659.

The king resolves to be at the meeting of the two favourites of the two crowns.

to Brussels; but the king, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a journey himself to the borders of Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies; the two chief ministers of the two crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at Brussels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards there; who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves, that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the marquis of Carracena and don Alonzo had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the marquis of Carracena; which don Juan very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces, and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his pleasure [m], he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

Don Juan recalled to Spain.

I said before, the chief ministers of the two crowns were now met on the borders of the two kingdoms.[n] For, this year, something had hap-

[m] taking his pleasure] music

[n] I said before, the chief ministers of the two crowns were now met on the borders of the two kingdoms.] *Not in MS.*

pened abroad [o], that, as it was new, might seem to administer [p] new hopes to raise the king's spirits; however, it was a subject for men [q] to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two crowns of France and Spain, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the crowns, (besides the natural animosity, which will always be between the two nations,) who would try the mastery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their masters' treasure, and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war prosecuted only for war's sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the queen of France,) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous

[o] For, this year, something had happened abroad] At this time an accident happened

[p] might seem to administer] administered

[q] however, it was a subject for men] and for men

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cruel war, which the queen mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young king being of years ripe to marry, and the infanta of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass; and knowing well, all her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required; conjuring him "by all the good offices she "had performed towards him, that he would not "only consent to it, but take it to heart, and put it "into such a way of negociation, that it might ar-"rive at the issue she desired."

The queen mother of France designs to put an end to the war between the two crowns by a treaty and marriage.

She advises the cardinal to concur in it.

His arguments against it.

The cardinal used all the arguments he could, to dissuade her majesty from desiring it at this time; "that it would not be for her majesty's service; nor "was he able to bear the reproach, of being the in-"strument of making a peace, at a time when Spain "was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer "resist the victorious arms of France; that they "could not fail the next summer of being possessed "of Brussels itself, and then they should not be "long without the rest of the Spanish Netherlands; "and therefore, at this time, to propose a peace, "which must disappoint them of so sure a conquest, "would not only be very ingrateful to the army, "but incense all good Frenchmen against him, and "against her majesty herself."

The queen was not diverted from her purpose by

those arguments; but proposed it to the king, and prosecuted it with the cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcileable breach with her majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and monsieur de Lyonne from France, so negociated this last winter in both courts, both *incognito*, making several journeys backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the winter, it was published, there would be a treaty between the two crowns, and that, in the beginning of the summer of this year 1659, the two favourites, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace, and the marriage.[r]

But at last he yields to her purpose.

The treaty is transacted first *incognito* at Paris and Madrid.

The cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted by his father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances, broke all his measures. He could not forget that the parliament, that now governed, were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Span-

The reasons that moved the cardinal to yield to this peace.

[r] and the marriage.] *MS. adds:* And the marshal de Grammont was sent from the king to demand the infanta, who, when he came to Alcovendas, a place within two leagues of Madrid, left his train there, and rode as by post only, with a valet de chambre, and alighted at the palace, and went presently up to the king to demand the infanta; and so returned to Alcovendas, and afterwards made his entry as ambassador.

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His promises to Lockhart touching his adhering to the parliament.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to Oliver, again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic, "that he would never "make a peace without the consent and inclusion "of England;" and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the parliament, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half sentences, "that though "the treaty was necessary to satisfy the queen, "there were so many difficulties in view, that he

"had little hope of a peace:" and, in truth, many sober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce a peace: for, besides the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French, which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war; which France would never permit,) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reserved for the treaty of the two favourites; both sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

Two particulars of difficulty in the treaty referred to the personal conference between the favourites.

The two particulars were those concerning Portugal, and the prince of Condé. There could not be a greater engagement, than France had made to Portugal, never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that king should quietly enjoy his government to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

The first, the business of Portugal.

On the other hand, the prince of Condé had the king of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including

The second, that of the prince of Condé.

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him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but with some farther recompense for the great service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, very near the borders of France, the same place where Francis the First was delivered, after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview; a little river near that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the two favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his master's dominions.

Fuentarabia the place of interview.

The fame of this treaty, (as soon as it was agreed to,[s]) had yielded variety, and new matter to the king to consider. Both crowns had made the contention and war that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that assistance, which, in a case so nearly relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from that war, they would manifest to the world, that they took the king's case to be their own: so that his majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect, that

[s] (as soon as it was agreed to,)] *Not in MS.*

he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an ambassador, that his majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, "that "he speaking with don Lewis about his journey to "Fuentarabia, and asking him whether he would "give him leave to wait on him thither, don Lewis "answered, that he should do well to be present; "and then asked him, why the king himself would "not be there; and two or three days after, he told "him, that if the king, with a very light train, "came *incognito* thither, for the place could not "permit them to receive him in state, after the "great difficulties of the treaty were over, he would "do all he could to induce the cardinal to concur in "what might be of convenience to his majesty."

The king resolves to be present at it.

The king had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expenses, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature[t] of the cardinal, than from the sin-

[t] nature] nature and kindness

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cerity of don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his majesty had written to the queen his mother, to entreat her, "as of herself, to desire the cardinal's ad-"vice, whether it would not be fit for the king to be "present at the treaty; that she might send his "majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought "well of it, she might then propose such passes, as "should seem reasonable to her." Her majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "that it was by no means fit; and that it "would do the king much harm;" and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the queen "to let "the king know, that he should rely upon him to "take care of what concerned him; which he would "not fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the "treaty would produce a peace." Her majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the king word, how kind the cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself; nor did the queen imagine that the king would ever think of it without a pass, and the cardinal's approbation.

Cardinal Mazarine advises against it.

When his majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a pass. And thus far [n], in the beginning of this last

[n] And thus far,] *Thus in MS.:* Nor would he depart from his former resolution; and when he was fully adver-

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spring, before any design of rising in England was ripened, his majesty had proceeded in his intention of being personally present at the conference between the two great ministers. But now, when all his expectations from England for this year were defeated, and when he himself was already advanced far into France, he thought it more necessary than ever to take up his former resolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertised, that the favourites had been met a considerable time, and were entered so far into the treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a cessation of arms, his majesty, attended by the same company he had then with him, the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three other servants, together with the earl of Bristol, (though sir Harry Bennet had before informed the king, that don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired he would not bring that earl with him; whose company yet, in respect of his language, the king believed would be very convenient to him,) his majesty, I say, with this attendance, began his journey from that part of Bretagne where he then was still *incognito.*[x] He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been

The king begins his journey thither with the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Bristol.

tised that the favourites were met, and computed that they were well entered upon their treaty, in the very entrance into which they concluded a cessation of arms, so that all was quiet in Flanders in the month of July, the king, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, &c. *as above, line* 14.

[x] his majesty, I say, with this attendance, began his journey from that part of Bretagne where he then was still *incognito.*] left Brussels *incognito,* being in truth not known there to be gone till many days after.

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heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement, that such a journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the earl of Bristol to be the guide; who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodgings; for which province no man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met with in the way.

He goes by Lyons into Languedoc; and so onward.

When they came near Toulouse, they found that the French court was there, which they purposely designed[y] to decline. However the king, going himself a nearer way, sent the marquis of Ormond thither, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The marquis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Toulouse, he was informed from the common discourse of the court, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

An account of the close of that

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both parties

[y] they purposely designed] they were obliged

Treaty in respect of the difficulties concerning Portugal and the prince of Condé.

equally desiring the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The cardinal, who had much the advantage over don Lewis in all the faculties necessary for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the arts imaginable to induce don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal, and what related to the prince of Condé, and his party. He enlarged upon "the desperate estate in which Flanders was; "and that they could possess themselves entirely of "it in one campaign; and therefore it might easily "be concluded, that nothing but the queen's abso-"lute authority could in such a conjuncture have "disposed the king to a treaty; and, he hoped, that "she should not be so ill requited, as to be obliged "to break the treaty, or to oblige the king her son "to consent to what was indispensably against his "honour: that if he should recede from the interest "of Portugal, no prince or state would hereafter "enter into alliance with him: that though they "were bound to insist to have Portugal included in "the peace, yet he would be contented that a long "truce might be made, and all acts of hostility for-"borne for a good number of years, which, he said, "was necessary for Spain, that they might recover "the fatigue of the long war they had sustained, "before they entered into a new one: if they would "not consent to that, then that Portugal should be "left out of the peace, and Spain at liberty to pro-"secute the war, and France at the same time to "assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of the "distance, they should never be able to administer "in such a proportion as would be able to preserve "it from their conquest;" not without insinuation,

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"that, so they might not renounce the promise they "had made, they would not be over solicitous to "perform it. As to the prince of Condé, that the "catholic king was now to look upon France as the "dominion of his son in law, and to be inherited by "his grandson, and therefore he would consider "what peril it might bring to both, if the prince of "Condé were restored to his greatness in that king-"dom, who only could disturb the peace of it, and "whose ambition was so restless, that they could no "longer enjoy peace, than whilst he was not in a "condition to interrupt it." The cardinal told him, in confidence, of several indignities offered by the prince of Condé to the person of the queen, of which her brother ought to be very sensible, and which would absolve him from any engagement he had entered into with that prince; which he would never have done, if his majesty had been fully informed of those rude transgressions. And therefore he besought don Lewis, "that the joy and triumph, "which the king and the queen would be possessed "of by this peace and marriage, might not be "clouded, and even rendered disconsolate, by their "being bound to behold a man in their presence, "who had so often, and with so much damage and "disdain, affronted them both; but that the peace "of France might be secured by that prince's being "for ever restrained from living in it; which being "provided for, whatsoever his catholic majesty "should require in ready money, or pensions, to "enable the prince to live in his just splendour "abroad, should be consented to."

Don Lewis de Haro was a man of great temper, of a sallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never

weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the cardinal, "that he knew well his master's affairs "needed a peace with France; and that the accom-"plishing this marriage was the only way to attain "it: that the marriage was the best and the most "honourable in Christendom, and ought to be "equally desired on both sides; that his catholic "majesty was sensible of his own age, and the in-"firmities which attended it; and desired nothing "more than that, before his death, he might see "this peace and this marriage finished, and made "perfect; and that he was well content to purchase "the former at any price, but of his honour; which "was the only thing he preferred even before peace: "that for Portugal, the groundless rebellion there "was so well known to all the world, that he should "not go to his grave in peace, if he should do any "thing which might look like a countenance, or "concession to that title, that was only founded "upon treason and rebellion; or if he should omit "the doing any thing that might, with God's bless-"ing, of which he could not doubt, reduce that "kingdom to their duty, and his obedience: that "his resolution was, as soon as this peace should be "concluded, to apply all the force and all the trea-"sure of his dominions, to the invasion of Portugal; "which, he hoped, would be sufficient speedily to

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When the cardinal found that all his art and crafty[z] eloquence were lost upon don Lewis's want of politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of these important particulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise for their idol honour and punctuality; and after he had

[z] crafty] *Not in MS.*

brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxembourg, as Flanders, and all other provinces, by which they dismembered all the Spanish dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders, than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town of Juliers to the duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money for what they had laid out upon the fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that town did belong of right to the duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by Spain, from being possessed by the Hollanders many years before, and by treaty to remain in their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements. After which time, they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that prince fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French shall purchase Juliers from the duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege, or Cologne, or to disturb the

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Hollanders in Maestricht, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town; and, indeed, to disturb the peace of Christendom.

[a] Of Portugal no other care was taken in the treaty, than that after the French king had pompously declared, "he would have given up all his "conquests by the war, provided the king of Spain "would have consented that all things should re-"main in Portugal as they were at that present," (which proposition, it was said, his catholic majesty had absolutely refused,) now "the most Christian "king should be allowed three months' time, count-"ing from the day of the ratification of the treaty, "wherein he might try to dispose the Portuguese "to satisfy his catholic majesty. But after those "three months should be expired, if his good offices "should not produce the effect desired, then neither "his most Christian majesty nor his successors should "give the Portuguese any aid or assistance, publicly "or secretly, directly or indirectly, by sea or land, "or in any other manner whatsoever." And this the ingenuity of the cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the king of Portugal's interest.[a]

To the prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompense made to such of his party as could not be restored

[a] Of Portugal no other care was taken—king of Portugal's interest.] *Thus in MS.:* For Portugal, it was agreed that there should not be any mention of it in the whole treaty, which the French ingenuity thought could never be called renouncing it; though there were other articles so binding, that they could not only not send them any relief or assistance, but that restrained them from sending any ambassador to them, or receiving one from them.

to their offices; as president Viole, and some others: yet don Lewis would not sign the treaty, till he had sent an express to the prince of Condé, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the king of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers, who were to be disbanded; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to their king's chastisement, without any provision made for don Josepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of France; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the cardinal came one morning into don Lewis's chamber with a sad countenance; and told him, "they had lost all their pains, and the "peace could not be concluded." At which don Lewis, in much disturbance, asked "what the mat-"ter was?" The cardinal very composedly answered, "that it must not be; that they two were too "good catholics to do any thing against the pope's "infallibility, which would be called in question by "this peace; since his holiness had declared, that "there would be no peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the season was ripe for it, he should

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have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two favourites were to meet, of which he had no notice, he said in the consistory, "that he was sure that cardinal Mazarine would "not make a peace." Don Lewis was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the company made themselves merry at the pope's charge.

When the marquis of Ormond discovered by the information he received at Toulouse, that the treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the king had appointed to meet at, that his majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the usual delays in their journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the king. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained, very reasonably, that the king neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed to wonder[b], that the king had not come thither, whilst the cardinal and he were together. The treaty was now concluded; and though the cardinal remained still at his old quarters on the French side, under some indisposition of the gout, yet he and don Lewis were to meet no more. But don Lewis was the less troubled that the king had not come sooner, because he had found the cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the

[b] seemed to wonder] seemed troubled

king, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the parliament, and seemed to think his majesty's hopes desperate; and advised don Lewis "to be wary how he embarked himself in an "affair that had no foundation; and that it was "rather time for all catholics to unite to the break-"ing the power and interest of the heretical party, "wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring "the king, except he would become catholic." And it is believed by wise men, that, in that treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the protestant interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in France and Germany, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken; chiefly[c] by the surprising revolution in England, (which happened the next year,) and also by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns; don Lewis de Haro and cardinal Mazarine; who both died not very long after it; the cardinal, probably, struck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undreamed of prosperity of our king's affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without his concurrence, and even against all his machinations.[c]

During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently consulted with the cardinal, and was by him brought to don Lewis twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard

[c] chiefly—machinations.] *Not in MS.*

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for him) in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the king's hands,) and to the last he was persuaded, that England should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

The king, the next day after he had sent the marquis of Ormond to Toulouse, received information upon the way, that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was easily persuaded by the earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon as they could; presuming that the marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his majesty. With this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragossa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement, that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the king, and the earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Saragossa, whilst O'Neile should go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

The king by mistake went into Spain as far as to Saragossa.

Don Lewis and the marquis of Ormond were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the king, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the king had resolved to go to Ma-

drid, if he had not been better informed at Saragossa; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with don Juan, and intended to carry the king to Madrid, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privity. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could, to defray the expenses which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the infanta, and all this must be spent upon the king of England's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a king *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried king must be received, and caressed in that court; which would occasion much discourse both in Spain and France. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the marquis of Ormond and sir Harry Bennet; who assured him, "that all that was past was by mere mistake, and "without any purpose to decline him, upon whose "friendship alone the king absolutely depended;" and undertook positively, "that as soon as his ma-"jesty should be informed of his advice, he would "make all the haste thither he could, without "thought of doing any thing else:" which don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neile returned to Saragossa, and his majesty, without delay, made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.

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Thence returns to Fuentarabia.

The king was received according to the Spanish

His treatment there

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by don Lewis de Haro.

mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be shewed to his catholic majesty himself, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the king, his master; "how much he was troubled, that "the condition of his affairs, and the necessity that "was upon him to make shortly a long journey, "would not permit him to invite his majesty to "Madrid, and to treat him in that manner that was "suitable to his grandeur: that having happily con-"cluded the peace, he had now nothing so much in "his thoughts, as how he might be able to give or "procure such assistance as his majesty stood in "need of; and that he should never be destitute of "any thing, that his power and interest could help "him to." Don Lewis for himself made all those professions which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed, "that there was no provision "made in the treaty that the two crowns would "jointly assist his majesty; but, that he believed "the cardinal would be ready to perform all good "offices towards him; and that, for his own parti-"cular, his majesty should receive good testimony "of the profound veneration he had for him."

Don Lewis intimated a wish, that his majesty could yet have some conference with the cardinal; who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the king sent the marquis of Ormond to visit him, and to let him know, that his majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his counsel and advice.

The cardinal would not see the king.

But the cardinal would by no means admit it; said, "it would administer unseasonable jealousy to the "parliament, without any manner of benefit to the

" king." He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his affection to the king; desired, " he would have patience till the marriage " should be over, which would be in the next spring; " and till then their majesties must remain in those " parts: but, as soon as that should be despatched, " the whole court would return to Paris; and that " he would not be long there, before he gave the " king some evidence of his kindness and respect." Other answer than this the marquis could not obtain.

After his majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that don Lewis was to return to Madrid before the king of Spain could take any resolution to begin, or order his own journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his majesty,) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the earl of Bristol, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he should be received into the service of his catholic majesty, in such a province as should be worthy of him. So that his majesty had now a less train to return with, the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three servants.

Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their expenses had been so great, as had wasted all their money, presented his majesty with seven thousand

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The king's return towards Flanders by Paris.

He came to Brussels about the end of December.

The pleasure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left the queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the king's spirit, and the joy for his return dispersed the present clouds. But he had not been long at Brussels, before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the countenances of most men, which he had left there; and though there had some changes happened in England, which might reasonably encourage men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

Upon this melancholic conjuncture, some about the king began to think of providing a religion [e], as

[e] Upon this melancholic conjuncture, some about the king began to think of providing a religion] It was a great blessing of God that this melancholic conjuncture happened in the winter, that men could not execute all the thoughts and purposes the unhappy state of affairs suggested to them. The king could not make his journey through Germany till the spring, and in the mean time men thought of providing a religion

well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those people and places, where and with whom they were like to reside. The protestant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the king's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the king, that his restoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of catholic princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of catholic religion.

The ill state of his majesty's affairs there.

The best the king could now look for seemed to be a permission to remain in Flanders, with a narrow assignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a king; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from England and Spain, towards a peace; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the dukes of York and Gloucester could no longer remain in an unactive course of life; and the duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the king. And therefore, when the marquis of Carracena at this time brought the duke of York a letter from the king of Spain, that he would make him el admirante del oceano, his highness was exceed-

The duke of York invited into Spain.

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ingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not such a "preferment, that the duke should so greedily em-"brace it, before he knew what conditions he should "be subject to, and what he might expect from it: "that the command had been in a younger son of "the duke of Savoy, and at another time in a "younger son of the duke of Florence, who both "grew quickly weary of it; for whatever title they "had, the whole command was in the Spanish offi-"cers under them; and that, if the duke were there, "he might possibly have a competent pension to "live on shore, but would never be suffered to go to "sea under any title of command, till he first chang-"ed his religion;" all this had no signification with them; but they prevailed with his royal highness, to return his consent, and acceptation of the office, by the same courier who brought the letter.

The lord Jermyn came to the king with compliments from the cardinal.

The marquis of Carracena likewise told the king, "that he had received orders to put all things in a "readiness for his expedition into England, towards "which he would add three thousand men to those "troops which his majesty already had." At the same time the lord Jermyn and Mr. Walter Mountague came to the king from Paris, with many compliments from the cardinal, "that when there should "be a peace between the northern kings," (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) "France "would declare avowedly for the king; but in the "mean time they could only assist him under hand; "and to that purpose they had appointed three

" thousand men to be ready on the borders of " France, to be transported out of Flanders, and " thirty thousand pistoles to be disposed of by the " king to advance that expedition." Sir Harry Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the marquis of Carracena; by which he was not (as he had told the king) to add three thousand men to the king's troops, but to make those which his majesty had amount to the number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the king must be obliged to embark them in France. The men the cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders; and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that, by these two specious pretences and proffers, the king could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new form their counsels. And the lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion, that the duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain; to which they made no doubt the queen would give her consent.

In this state of despair the king's condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of March, old style, 1659[f]: and though his majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the king thought

[f] about the beginning of March, old style, 1659] at the end of March, 1660

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not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.

The affairs of England after the defeat of Booth and Middleton.

After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the king's hopes so totally destroyed, the parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in England children of their father's affections; and, by degrees, so to model their army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent Lambert a thousand pounds to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it among the officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a party in the army, that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by his advice, that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had helped to make Cromwell protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the town.

The parliament grows jealous of Lambert's army.

Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, (as if all were not safe,) to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to disband their

army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army; in which they desired the parliament, "that they might be governed, as all armies "used to be, by a general, who might be amongst "them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him." The address was entitled, *The humble petition and proposals of the army, under the command of the lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

The petition and proposals of Lambert's army.

They made a large recapitulation of "the many "services they had done, which they thought were "forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved "them from an enemy, which, if they had been suf-"fered to grow, would, in a short time, have over-"run the kingdom: and engaged the nation in a "new bloody war; to which too many men were "still inclined;" and concluded with a desire, "that "they would commit the army to Fleetwood, as ge-"neral; and that they would appoint Lambert to "be major general." Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying part of the army; a man, whom the parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolved to have no general, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any man's; and Lambert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that

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they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented first to the council of officers, and afterwards to the parliament [g]. He resolved first to consult with some of his friends for their advice; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immediately informed the parliament "of a rebellion growing in the army, which, if not suppressed, would "undo all they had done." They, as they were always apt to take alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had only a copy, but that such officers, whom he named, had the original. [h] The officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the afternoon; when they produced the petition. Whereupon the parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, "that the having more general officers was a thing "needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth."

This petition discovered to Haslerig; who acquaints the house with it.

They pass a vote to have no more general officers.

This put the whole army into that distemper, that Lambert could wish it in; and brought the council of officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the parliament. They prepared and presented [i] a petition and representation to the parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of "their fidelity towards them; but yet that they would so far "take care for their own preservation, that they

The council of officers upon this prepare a petition and representation to the parliament.

[g] first to the council of officers, and afterwards to the parliament] to the parliament

[h] He answered, he had only a copy, but that such officers, whom he named, had the original.] He answered, he had it not, but that he had delivered it to such an officer, whom he named.

[i] and presented] *Not in MS.*

"would not be at the mercy of their enemies;" and implied, that they having no way forfeited their rights of freemen,[k] had likewise privileges, which they would not quit; [l]and then seconded the proposals of the northern brigade with more warmth, and desired, "that whatever persons should for the future groundlessly inform the parliament against "them, creating jealousies, and casting scandalous "imputations upon them, may be brought to examination, justice, and condign punishment.[l]"

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The parliament, that was governed by Vane and Haslerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of very different natures and understandings,) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of subsistence from the army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the government by force. In order thereunto they declared, "that it should be treason "in any person whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect "money, without consent in parliament." Then they made void all acts for custom and excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army, except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army; with whom they were most offended, for subscribing a letter to all the other forces desiring their concurrence with the army in London,[m] and conferred their regiments

The parliament declare it treason to raise money without consent of parliament; and make void all money acts.

They cashier Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army.

[k] having no way forfeited their rights of freemen,] *Not in MS.*

[l] and then—condign punishment.] *Not in MS.*

[m] for subscribing a letter to all the other forces desiring their concurrence with the army in London,] *Not in MS.*

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They make seven commissioners to govern the army.

and commands upon other persons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole government of the army into the hands of seven commissioners; who were, Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great interest in the army, and so durst not totally disoblige him,) Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland,) Monk, (who was their general in Scotland,) Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton; who were all upon the place.

The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the parliament to provoke so many of them, being not sure[n] of a competent strength to execute their orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city; and had already forgotten, how the army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the parliament had much more reputation, and the army less terror. The nine cashiered officers were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The parliament send for forces to defend them, and for the city militia.

The parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Westminster to defend them from force; and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot, and four troops of horse; who were well armed, and ranged themselves in the Pa-

[n] being not sure] without being sure

lace-yard, with a resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there; and divided his party in the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order, "that they should suffer none to march that "way, or to come out of the gates;" then placed himself with some troops in King-street, and before Whitehall,[o] to expect when the speaker would come to the house; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the speaker, and told him, "there was nothing to be done at Westmin-"ster," and therefore advised him "to return back "again to his house:" which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which Lambert rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bid major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthal to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own house; and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

Lambert draws some troops together, stops the speaker, and makes him go home.

When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those who had been ordered into the Palace-yard by the parliament, to withdraw to their quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bid them

[o] and before Whitehall,] *Not in MS.*

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then to stay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the parliament sat not, they desired that they might repair to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered; and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit; who found all submission and obedience from the soldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no parliament, nor any officer in the army who was by his commission above the degree of a colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

The officers meet, and choose Fleetwood general, &c.

Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, "that the army finding itself without "a general, or other general officers, had themselves "made choice of Fleetwood to be their general, and "of Lambert to be their major general, and of Des-"borough to be commissary general of the horse; "and that they bound themselves to obey them in "their several capacities, and to adhere to and de-"fend them." Upon the publishing this declaration, they assumed their several provinces; and the whole army took commissions from their new general; and were as much united, as if they were under Cromwell; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the parliament; which they all detested.

But these generals were not at ease; they knew well upon what slippery ground they stood: the parliament had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of custom and excise; and to revive these impositions, by which the army might receive their wages,

required another authority than of the army itself. The divisions in the parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful. Vane, who was much the wisest man, found he could never make that assembly settle such a government as he affected, either in church or state: and Haslerig, who was of a rude and stubborn nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the king, and root out his majesty's party: in all other things relating to the temporal or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animosity against each other.

Vane's and Haslerig's parts in this business.

Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited or [p] unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was superior to that of most men [q],) that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

Haslerig was, as to the state, perfectly republican; and as to religion, perfectly presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a

[p] or] and

[q] was superior to that of most men] was inferior to that of few men

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A model of such a government, as the people must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great authority to their counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a number of persons should be "chosen, who, under the style of a committee of "safety, should assume the present entire govern-"ment, and have full power to revive all such or-"ders, or to make new, which might be necessary "for raising of money, or for doing any thing else "which should be judged for the peace and safety "of the kingdom; and to consider and determine, "what form of government was fit to be erected, to "which the nation was to submit." [r] They also declared "all the orders, acts, or pretended acts made "in parliament on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of Octo-"ber, before their interruption, to be void and null "to all intents and purposes, as if they had never "been. [r]"

A committee of safety constituted by the army.

[r] They—been.] *Not in MS.*

To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army, to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this committee of safety should consist of three and twenty persons; six or seven[s] officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were three; Ireton, lord mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more citizens of more private names; but men tried, and faithful to the republic interest, and not like to give any countenance to presbyterians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally,) besides three or four others of those who had been the king's judges, with Warreston,[t] Vane, Steel,[u] and Whitlock, whom they made keeper of their great seal.

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Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation, and proclaimed themselves *the committee of safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, they sent colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to persuade general Monk to a concurrence with them; and, because they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert,) to work upon as many of his officers as

Cobbet sent into Scotland to Monk.

[s] or seven] *Not in MS.*
[t] Warreston,] *Not in MS.*
[u] Steel,] *Not in MS.*

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And another to the army in Ireland.

he could; there being many in that army of whose affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another colonel into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a submission to their power and authority.

Before the parliament was routed, they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to Monk, "that he would "take care of his army, lest it should be corrupted "against him, which they knew was endeavouring;" and Haslerig, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him "to continue firm to the "parliament;" and to assure him, "that before "Lambert should be able to be near him to give "him any trouble, he would give him other diver-"tisement." And some time after Lambert had acted that violence upon the speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerig, Walton,[x] and Morley, three[y] of the commissioners of the government of the army, went to Portsmouth, where colonel Whetham the governor was their friend, and devoted to the presbyterian-republican party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; others, and the most considerable of that party, professing, "that they very much desired monarchical govern-"ment, and the person of the king, so that they "might have him without episcopacy, and enjoy "the lands of the church;" which they had divided among them. These three[z] were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town, who were sus-

Haslerig, Walton, and Morley, go to Portsmouth.

[x] Walton,] *Not in MS.*
[y] three] two
[z] These three] They

pected to be, or might be made of the party of the army; and colonel Morley, whose interest was in Sussex, easily drew in enough of his friends, to make them very secure in their garrison; which the committee of safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that Haslerig would never be induced to serve the king, whose interest only could break all their measures.

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But this open declaring of Portsmouth for the parliament happened not till the following December.[a] That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold letters from Monk, about the end of October; who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the parliament, from whom they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Berwick. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as Cobbet came into Scotland, he was committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle; and that Monk used extraordinary diligence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence dismissing them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect Monk to be of their party:

Monk writes to the officers of the army, declaring for the parliament.

Possesses Berwick.

Imprisons Cobbet; and purges his army of fanatics.

[a] But this—following December.] *Not in MS.*

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besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the king, than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the north, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to guard themselves, and keep the town quiet, and some others [b] to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the garrison there from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Sussex and Hampshire, where they had many friends.

Lambert sent against him.

Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the committee of safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him two such persons [c] as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his wife's brother; and after them some officers of the army, and two independent ministers, [d] with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions, "that he desired nothing more, "than to unite himself and his army with that of "England, provided that there might be a lawful "power, to which they might all be subject: but "that the force that had been used upon the parlia-

They send Charges, &c. to Monk.

Monk's answer to them.

[b] to guard themselves, and keep the town quiet, and some others] *Not in MS.*

[c] two such persons] a committee of such persons

[d] and after them some officers of the army, and two independent ministers,] *Not in MS.*

"ment was an action of such a nature, that was de-"structive to all government, and that it would be "absolutely necessary to restore that to its freedom, "rights, and privileges; which being done, he would "use all the instance and credit he had to procure "an act of pardon and oblivion, for all that had been "done amiss; and this would unite both parliament "and army for the public safety, which was appa-"rently threatened and shakened[c] by this disunion." He added, "that he so much desired peace and union, "and so little thought of using force, that he would "appoint three officers of his army, Wilks, Clobery, "and Knight, to go to London, and treat with the "committee of safety, of all particulars necessary "thereunto." When the persons sent from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the general made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the committee of safety was very well pleased, and concluded, that the fame of their army's march had frighted him: so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay, till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

He appoints three commissioners to treat with the officers of the army at London.

They at London accept of a treaty.

General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where some of all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and

A particular account of general Monk.

[c] shakened] shaken

BOOK XVI. 1659. had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of colonel Goring. When the first troubles begun in Scotland, Monk, and many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the king. In the beginning of the Irish rebellion, he was sent thither, with the command of the lord Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then lieutenant of Ireland,) and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war broke out in England between the king and the parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiment from thence, to serve the king in England, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his regiment should be sent on that expedition, and his answer to the lord of Ormond was so rough and doubtful,[f] that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those regiments were sent to Chester, and there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them

[f] rough and doubtful,] *MS. adds*: having had no other education but Dutch and Devonshire,

Monk went under some cloud [g], and from Bristol to the king at Oxford, where he was known to many persons of quality, (and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the king's service in the west, and most useful,) his professions were so sincere, (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation,) that all men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the king was willing to send him into the west, where the gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the king's leave, made all haste towards Chester; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a volunteer, in the first rank, with a pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London. BOOK XVI. 1659.

He was no sooner there, than the lord Lisle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the parliament, with much importunity endeavoured to persuade [h] him to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither

[g] went under some cloud] was sent prisoner

[h] endeavoured to persuade] persuaded

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care for his exchange, nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several officers of the same quality for his exchange; which was always refused; there having been an ordinance made, "that no "officer who had been transported out of Ireland "should ever be exchanged;" so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the king's condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the war was at an end, and the king a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with Monk, for his liberty and preferment [i], to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And, from that time, Monk continued very firm to Cromwell; who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies, upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more depended. And those of his western friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived. But as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the king, than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the king's service; and all his relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes

[i] preferment] money, which he loved heartily

of fanaticism[k] to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were swayed by those trances.[l] BOOK XVI. 1659.

He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular integrity; and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the king. Sir Hugh Pollard and sir John Greenvil, who had both friendship for the general, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, "whether, since Cromwell "was now gone, and in all reason it might be ex- "pected that his death would be attended with a "general revolution, by which the king's interest "would be again disputed, he did not believe, that "the general might be wrought upon, in a fit con- "juncture, to serve the king, in which, they thought, "he would be sure to meet with a universal concur- "rence from the whole Scottish nation." The honest clergyman thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to his brother into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them,) and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the king of this design; and believed well themselves of what they wished

[k] fanaticism] religion

[l] trances.] *MS. adds:* Only he was cursed after a long familiarity to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit, and less beauty; who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some presbyterian ministers, who disposed her to that interest. She was a woman, "nihil muliebre præter corpus "gerens," so utterly unacquainted with all persons of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her.

BOOK XVI. 1659. so much, and desired his majesty's approbation and instruction. The king had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a negociation. Whereupon his brother begun his journey towards Edinburgh, where the general received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, [m] he soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "to return "no more to him with such propositions." [m]

In truth, at that time[n], the general had not given the least public proof that he had any thought or purpose of contributing to the king's restoration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers accidents, which fell out in the course of affairs, and seemed even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory: yet from that very time, his brother's inclinations to the king being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the king; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in England. [n]

[m] he soon — propositions.] *Thus in MS.:* he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom, using many oaths to him, that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition, he would cause him to be hanged; with which the poor man was so terrified, that he was glad when he was gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the like employment.

[n] In truth, at that time—or in England.] *Thus in MS.:* And at that time there is no question the general had not the least

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Now[o] upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, Monk saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the north, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the parliament's interest, as he had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose[p], than his own profit and honour[q], under the establishment of that government.

Monk's jealousy of Lambert before this time.

When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged out of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of the states of Scotland[r]; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power[s] over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that people[t] to an entire submission

He calls together an assembly of the Scottish nation.

thought or purpose to contribute to the king's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate; and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards, did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory. And yet from this very time, his brother being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the king; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim, either there or in England.

[o] Now] *Not in MS.*

[p] purpose] imagination

[q] honour] greatness

[r] he called together an assembly, somewhat resembling a convention of the states of Scotland] he called the states of Scotland together

[s] power] tyranny

[t] that people] the pride and tyranny of that people

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to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility, and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, than they had been accustomed to under their own lords. When this convention appeared before him, he told them, "that he had received a "call from heaven and earth, to march with his "army into England, for the better settlement of "the government there; and though he did not in"tend his absence should be long, yet he foresaw "that there might be some disturbance of the peace "which they enjoyed; and therefore he expected, "and desired, that, in any such occasion, they would "be ready to join with the forces he left behind in "their own defence." In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "that they would pay in a pre"sent sum of money out of the arrears of their "taxes[u], for supplying the necessities of the army, "without which it could not well march into Eng"land."

His discourse to them.

From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons as were most notorious for affection to the king, as finding them a more direct and punctual people than the rest: and when these men resorted to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such pur-

[u] pay in a present sum of money out of the arrears of their taxes] raise him a present sum of money

pose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the king; by which imagination of theirs, he received great advantage: for they paid him the arrears of a twelvemonth's tax [x] over the kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of major general Morgan, he marched with the rest to Berwick; where a good part of his horse and foot expected him; having refused to ratify the treaty signed by his commissioners at London, [y] and committed colonel Wilks, one of them, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another treaty to be held at Newcastle; which, though he knew it would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion in the committee of safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of peace.

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Lambert comes with his army to Newcastle towards the end of November.

It was towards the end of November, that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers whom Monk had cashiered; and who, he persuaded the people, had deserted Monk, for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within

[x] for they paid him the arrears of a twelvemonth's tax] gave him a twelvemonth's tax

[y] having refused to ratify the treaty signed by his commissioners at London,] having put an end to his treaty at London,

distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his committee of safety, which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerig and Morley were now looked upon, as the persons invested with the authority of parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer, who was sent by the committee of safety to restrain them in Portsmouth, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers; who declared, "that they would serve the parliament," and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals, Haslerig and Morley, would conduct them.

The soldiers before Portsmouth revolted to it.

The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the apprentices did, their dislike of the present government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared, "that "they would have a free parliament." And though colonel Hewson, (a bold fellow, who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer,) who was left to guard the committee of safety, suppressed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the more against the army; which, they said, "was only kept on foot "to murder the citizens." And it was said, they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against

The city apprentices rise, but are suppressed by Hewson.

Hewson for those murders. The common council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the committee of safety; which begun to be universally abhorred, as like to be the original of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee protested and declared to them, "that there should "be a parliament called to meet together in February next, under such qualifications and restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such persons "who would destroy them." But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

Lawson and the fleet declare for the parliament, and come into the river.

But that which broke the heart of the committee of safety, was the revolt of their favourite vice-admiral Lawson, a man at that time appearing at least as much republican, as any amongst them; as much an independent, as much an enemy to the presbyterians and to the covenant, as sir Harry Vane himself; and a great dependent upon sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raised to that command in the fleet, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of the parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms;

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and told them, "that he would submit to no authority but that of the parliament."

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Haslerig and Morley march from Portsmouth towards London.

Upon the fame of this, Haslerig and Morley resolved with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute any orders which they should receive from the committee of safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the council of officers, or the committee of safety, for adhering to the parliament; and their commands having been given to other men, who had been discountenanced by the parliament, the regiments for a time appeared as much confirmed in the interest of the army, as could be wished. But these cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerig and Morley, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed, they put themselves into the heads of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the parliament, they all marched into Chancery-lane to the house of the speaker; and professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

The soldiers in London resolve to restore the parliament; and wait on the speaker.

Lambert, upon the first news of the froward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment; which was now marched as near London as

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St. Alban's; where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission; but declared that they likewise were for the parliament; and gave the speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, general Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the committee of safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his "face, and would not hear him:" so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself.

Desborough's regiment revolt to the parliament.

The behaviour of Fleetwood at this time.

Lenthall the speaker, upon this new declaration of the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the lord mayor and aldermen, and declared to them, "that the parliament "would meet (though not immediately) within very "few days." For, as the members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own authority, removed the lieutenant, who had been con-

Lenthall goes into the city.

Changes the command of the Tower.

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firmed there by the committee of safety; and put sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of the parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

The parliament meets again at Westminster.

All things being in this good order, he and the members met again together at Westminster, on December the 26th, and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; and put those collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their proselyte forces, and to carry on their other expenses. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which the army should be put; and made an order, that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned.

They order Lambert's troops to their several quarters.

This man was now in a disconsolate condition: as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The lord Fairfax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last order of the parliament so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the officers of the army, who had been formerly cashiered by the parliament, and had resumed their commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their

Lambert's army separates; and he is committed to the Tower.

charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and divers other members of the house who had concurred with the committee of safety, were likewise confined to their own houses: so that the parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction.

Vane, and others who had concurred with the committee of safety, confined to their own houses.

The other changes and fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the king, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischiefs, disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make their parts of the army for ever after irreconcileable, and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new parliament; in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. The committee of safety had neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising resurrection of the parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was most formidable to the king and his party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and was interpreted by that party, as[z] an act of Providence to establish their monstrous murders and usurpation.

Upon this return of the parliament, the king's affairs seemed more desperate.

[z] and was interpreted by that party, as] and looked like

BOOK XVI. 1659. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there were very few men[a], who bore a part in these changes and giddy revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the king's restoration, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion. This was the true state of affairs when the king returned from Fuentarabia to Brussels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that there was that dejection of spirit upon those about his majesty[b]; and that the duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

The condition of the king at Brussels.

1660. Whilst the divisions had continued in the army, and the parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers, seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the king's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the government and the army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them,

[a] were very few men] was no one man

[b] upon those about his majesty] upon his majesty and those about him

they looked upon the parliament[c] as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it. BOOK XVI. 1660.

There remained only within the king's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great services; and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privity and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his judgment, that, whatever present conditions the governing party might give him, for the service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough that the parliament resolved to new model their army, and to have no man in any such extent of command, as to be able to control their counsels. Then his majesty knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore Monk would think himself obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

But, I say, these were but faint hopes grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are will-

c parliament] government

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ing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations; and, as wise men, had concluded, that, from those frequent shuffles, some game at last might fall out, that might prove to the king's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the general the least cause to imagine they had any such affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. [d]And it was the king's great happiness that the general never owned his purpose to serve his majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power to do. If he had declared his resolution sooner, he had been destroyed himself[d]; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was God's instrument[e] in bringing those mighty things to pass, [f]which, undoubtedly, no one man living had, of himself, either wisdom enough to foresee, or understanding to contrive, or courage to attempt, and execute.[f]

When the parliament found themselves at so

[d] And it was—destroyed himself;] *Thus in MS.:* And for the second presumption upon his understanding and ratiocination, alas! it was not equal to the enterprise. He could not bear so many and so different contrivances in his head together, as were necessary to that work. And it was the king's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him, till it fell to be in his power; and indeed till he had nothing else to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself; &c.

[e] God's instrument] instrumental

[f] which, undoubtedly,—and execute.] *Thus in MS.:* which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.

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much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that general Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued his march towards London, without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that a good part "of his forces might be sent back to Scotland;" and he, having sent[g] back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand foot and horse, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the possession of the lord Fairfax; who received him with open arms, as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make Monk's advance into England the less interrupted.

Monk marches towards London.

The parliament desire, that part of his forces may be sent back to Scotland.

Monk comes to York.

The truth is, that, upon a letter from the king, delivered to Fairfax by sir Horatio Townsend, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that general Monk brought good affections with him for his majesty's service, that lord had called together some of his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and many principal gentlemen of the country,[h] and

The lord Fairfax's part in this whole business.

[g] "that a good part of his "forces might be sent back to "Scotland;" and he, having sent] "that all his forces might "be sent back to Scotland, and "that he would not come to "London with above five hun-"dred horse;" but he having sent

[h] and many principal gentlemen of the country,] *Not in MS.*

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marched in the head of them into York, some time after that[i] Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the king; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with Monk, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the general, first in person, and afterwards[k] in writing, "that he would be instrumental "to restore the nation to peace and security, and to "the enjoying those rights and liberties, which by "the law were due to them, and of which they had "been robbed and deprived by so many years' dis-"tractions; and that, in order thereunto, he would "prevail, either for the restoring those members "which had been excluded in the year 1648 by "force and violence, that they might exercise that "trust the kingdom had reposed in them; or that a "free and full parliament might be called by the "votes of the people; to which all subjects had a "right by their birth."

Addresses to Monk from all counties as he passed. The city sent to him by their sword-bearer to the same purpose. His manner of receiving these addresses.

The principal persons of all counties through which the general passed, flocked to him in a body with addresses to the same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their sword-bearer as far as to Morpeth[l], to offer their service; and all concluded for a free parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions

[i] some time after that] as soon as

[k] first in person, and afterwards] *Not in MS.*

[l] as far as to Morpeth] *Not in MS.*

publicly to declare "that nothing should shake his "fidelity to the present parliament," yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, "that he would procure a free parlia-"ment:" so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.



The parliament was far from being confident that Monk was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a body,[m] his receiving so many addresses from the people, and his treating malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his professions of fidelity to the parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdom, had a good aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of addresses, and resort of malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit with them, Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the general, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt; and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens, to perform the same com-

The parliament sends Scot and Robinson to meet him.

[m] with such a body,] *MS. adds:* contrary to their desires,

BOOK XVI. pliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

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He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the parliament, "that he had some "apprehension that those regiments and troops of "the army who had formerly deserted them, though "for the present they were returned to their obedi-"ence, would not live peaceably with his men," and therefore desired that all the soldiers (except one or two regiments, which he named)[n] "who were then "quartered in the Strand, Westminster, or other "suburbs of the city, might be presently removed, "and sent to more distant quarters, that there might "be room for his army." This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be under the force and awe of an army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers; and the regiment that was quartered in Somerset-house expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there were like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and so at last all was well composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of February, general Monk with his army marched through the city into

At St. Alban's he sent to the parliament to have the other regiments removed out of town.

The parliament gives orders accordingly.

Monk marches in

[n] (except one or two regiments, which he named)] *Not in MS.*

the Strand, and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in White-hall.

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He was shortly after conducted to the parliament [o]. There he had a chair appointed for him to sit in; and the speaker made him a speech to this effect, [p]

about the beginning of February. He is conducted to

[o] to the parliament] *MS. adds:* which had before, when they saw there was no remedy, conferred the office and power of general of all the forces in the three kingdoms upon him, as absolutely as ever they had given it to Cromwell

[p] and the speaker made him a speech to this effect] *The account here given of the interview between Monk and the parliament appears to have been taken from a copy of Monk's speech published in 1660. Lord Clarendon had written the following substance of it:* and the speaker made a speech to him, in which he extolled the great service he had done to the parliament, and therein to the kingdom, which was in danger to have lost all the liberty they had gotten with so vast an expense of blood and treasure, and to have been made slaves again, if he had not magnanimously declared himself in their defence; the reputation whereof was enough to blast all their enemies' designs, and to reduce all to their obedience. He told him his memory should flourish to all ages, and the parliament (whose thanks he presented to him) would take all occasions to manifest their kindness and gratitude for the service he had done.

The general was not a man of eloquence, or of any volubility of speech; he assured them of his constant fidelity, which should never be shaken, and that he would live and die in their service; and then informed them of the several addresses which he had received in his march, and of the observation he had made of the general temper of the people, and their impatient desire of a free parliament, which he mentioned with more than his natural warmth, as a thing they would expect to be satisfied in; (which they observed and disliked;) yet concluded, that having done his duty in this representation, and thereby complied with his promise which he had made to those who had made the addresses, he entirely left the consideration and determination of the whole to their wisdom; which gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they longed for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

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the parliament, and complimented by the speaker.

"that though it was God, and not man, who had "done this great work, and ought to have the glory "of it; yet the influence of that glory extended to "him the instrument, as a reward of his prudent and "wise conduct: that when their friends had left "them, and there was a great defection in duty and "trust, so that the whole nation seemed to be ex-"posed to the utmost ruin; they discerned, as the "prophet did, a little cloud afar off, and in his hand "which had dispersed the miseries of these nations, "and was become a glorious mercy to them all: "that the house had a true resentment of his ser-"vice, and returned their hearty thanks to him, and "all his officers and soldiers."

Monk's reply.

The general was not a man of eloquence or volubility of speech; but after having thanked them, "for the honour they had done him for but doing "his duty;" he told them, "that, in his march from "Scotland, several applications, with numerous sub-"scriptions, had been made to him, for a full and "free parliament, for admittance of the secluded "members without any previous oath or engage-"ment; and that this parliament would determine "their sitting: to all which he had answered, that "they were now a free parliament; and that they "had voted to fill up their house, and then they "would be a full parliament; and that they had al-"ready determined their sitting. But as for the se-"cluded members, this parliament had already given "judgment in it, in which all people ought to ac-"quiesce; and that to admit any members to sit in "parliament, without a previous oath to preserve the "government in being, was never done in England. "But now he craved pardon to say to themselves,

"that the less oaths or engagements were imposed, "their settlement would be the sooner attained to: "that he knew, all the sober gentry would close "with them, if they might be tenderly and gently "used: that it was their common concernment to "amplify, not to lessen, their interest, and to be care-"ful that neither the cavalier nor the fanatic party "should have yet a share in the civil or military "power."

The rest of his speech concerned Ireland and Scotland. And all being spoken with more than his natural warmth, there were some expressions in it which they disliked. But others gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they watched for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts had wholly emptied their coffers, out of which the army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to require the city presently to collect and bring in the arrears of their taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable sum of money of

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them[q]; which could not be easily[r] done but by the advice and with the consent of the common council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably, without their distribution.

The common council of the city are refractor to the parliament.

The common council was constituted of such persons as were weary of the parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with, any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded[s], but, in the debate of it, excepted against the authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never submit to "any imposition that was not granted by a free and "lawful parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the general; and the apprehension of this made the parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience.

The parliament having received a full information from those aldermen, and others, whose interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the common council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the council of state, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the parliament. The council of state[t] deli-

[q] to require the city—money of them] to raise a present great sum of money upon the city

[r] easily] *Not in MS.*

[s] to what was demanded] to this new imposition

[t] council of state] privy council

berated upon the matter, and returned their advice to the parliament, "that some part of the army might "be sent into the city, and remain there, to preserve "the peace thereof, and of the commonwealth, and "to reduce it to the obedience of the parliament. In "order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, "they thought it convenient that the posts and "chains should be removed from and out of the several streets of the city; and that the portcullises "and gates of the city should be taken down and "broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven persons, who had been the principal conductors in the common council, all citizens of great reputation; and advised "that they should be apprehended and committed to prison, and that thereupon a new common council might be elected, that "would be more at their devotion."

This round advice was embraced by the parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their general, and commanded him to march into the city with his army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town on Feb. the 9th [u], neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them,) caused as many as he could of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and conster-

Monk sent into the city to reduce it to obedience.

[u] on Feb. the 9th,] *Not in MS.*

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Returns to Whitehall.

nation of the whole city; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it[x], he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters. And by this last act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him[y], and confirmed his masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And many at that time feared, that[z] if the parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

The parliament resolve to join others in commission with him, and receive a petition by Barebone from the fanatics.

Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the army; and, upon that very day, they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the parliament by a man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praise-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late king, and against the person of the present king, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry

[x] all who hated it] *MS. adds:* which was the whole kingdom

[y] And by this last act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him] And by this last act of outrage convinced those who expected somewhat from him how vain their hopes were, and how incapable he was of embracing any opportunity to do a noble action

[z] And many at that time feared, that] And without doubt

of the kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the petitioners said, "would prove the inevitable destruction of all the godly in the land:" and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no person whatsoever might be admitted to the exercise of any office or function in the state, or in the church, no not so much as to teach a school, who did not first take the oath of abjuration of the king, and of all his family, and that he would never submit to the government of any one single person whatsoever; and that whosoever should presume so much as to propose or mention the restoration of the king in parliament, or any other place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemned for, high treason."

This petition was received with great approbation by the house, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the parliament very solemnly returned by the speaker: all which information the general received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city; and was presently attended by his chief officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the parliament, "their manifest ingratitude to him, and the indignity offered to him, in giving such countenance to a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to set the whole kingdom in a flame, to comply with their fanatic[a] and mad

Monk's chief officers discontented at this neglect oft he parliament of their general.

[a] fanatic] fantastic

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"enthusiasms; and that the parliament would never "have admitted such an infamous address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon his "ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to "look for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom "and sagacity;" and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

The general had been prepared, by the conferences of Scot and Robinson in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the parliament, he must take the oath of abjuration of the king and his family. And therefore they had advised him "to offer the "taking it himself, before it should be proposed to "him, as a matter that would confirm all men in an "entire confidence in him[b]." When he came to the parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought[c] he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awakened by this alarm from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in danger; and that this body of men, that was called the parliament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adhered to them.

This awakens him.

[b] confidence in him] *MS. adds:* and he discovered not the least aversion from it

[c] and they thought] and without doubt

He had observed throughout the kingdom, as he marched, how despicable[d] they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the rump, as the fag end of a carcass long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his army to him, that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

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In the morning, which was very soon after[e] he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house[f]. At the same time he left Whitehall, he sent a letter to the parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "their unreasonable, unjust, and un-"politic proceedings; of their abetting and counte-"nancing wicked and unchristian tenets in refer-"ence to religion, and such as would root out the "practice of any religion; of their underhand cor-"responding with those very persons whom they "had declared to be enemies, and who had been "principally instrumental in all the affronts and in-"dignities they had undergone, in and after their "dissolution." Thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, "that, in such a time," (a time prescribed in his letter,) "they would issue out "writs for a new parliament, that so their own sit-"ting might be determined; which was the only "expedient that could return peace and happiness

He marches again into the city, and sends an expostulatory letter to the parliament.

[d] despicable] opprobrious

[e] which was very soon after] the very next morning after

[f] alderman's house] *MS. adds:* where he dined

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1660.

His letter to the parliament printed and dispersed.

"to the kingdom, and which both the army and "kingdom expected at their hands." This letter was no sooner delivered to the house, than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how throughly he was embarked, and so entertain no new jealousies of him.

He meets the lord mayor and common council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and they by him.

Great rejoicing in the city upon it.

After he had dined with the lord mayor[g], and disposed his army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired him, and the aldermen, with the common council[h], to meet him at the guildhall; where, after many excuses for the work of the other day[i], they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the lord mayor attended the general to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and testified to the town and kingdom, that the army and the city were of one mind. And, as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light of bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs[k] of scorn and contempt of the parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast a rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "which," they said, "was for "the celebration of the funeral of the parlia-

[g] with the lord mayor] *Not in MS.*

[h] him, and the aldermen, with the common council] the lord mayor and aldermen

[i] the other day] yesterday

[k] signs] expressions

"ment:" and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised. to defame the parliament, and to magnify the general.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the king's health; which was taken no notice of; nor was it known that one person of condition did[l] once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their general again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition[m]. The entertainment he gave this committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, "that in "justice the secluded members ought to be admitted "before the calling another parliament, and the dis-"solution of this[n]."

The parliament sent some members to treat with him.

He engages them in a conference with some secluded members.

After he had put the city into the posture they

[l] nor was it known that one person of condition did] nor did one person of condition

[m] ambition] *MS. adds:* or to satisfy his insatiable avarice

[n] before the calling another parliament, and the dissolution of this] but that matter was now over, by his having required the calling another parliament, and the dissolution of this.

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He returns to White-hall.

Sends for members of both parties.

desired, and found no danger threatened him from thence [o], he returned again to his quarters in White-hall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the members of the parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented "the sad condition the kingdom was in, which he "principally imputed to the disunion and divisions "which had arisen in parliament among those who "were faithful to the commonwealth: that he had "had many conferences with them together, and was "satisfied by those gentlemen, who had been ex-"cluded, of their integrity; and therefore he had "desired this conference between them, that he "might communicate his own thoughts to them; "in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken "in his delivery, or misapprehended in his expres-"sions, as he had lately been, he had put what he "had a mind to say in writing;" which he commanded his secretary to read to them: and was as follows. [p]

He delivers his mind to them in a paper.

[o] from thence] from any place

[p] and was as follows.] *This speech of general Monk's was printed by his order for John Playford, in the Temple, 1659; from whence it is presumed the noble editors of this history obtained it. The following is the account given of it by lord Clarendon in his MS.:* The writing imported, that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers-up of its woful breaches, in pursuit whereof they would be sure of all his service, and he should think all his pains well spent; that he would impose nothing upon them, but took leave to put them in mind, that the old foundations upon which the government had heretofore stood were so totally broken down and demolished, that in the eye of human reason they could never be reedified and restored but in the ruin of the nation; that the interest of the city of London would be best preserved by the government of a commonwealth, which was the only means to make that city to be the bank for the whole trade of

"Gentlemen,

"You are not, I hope, ignorant, what care and "endeavours have been used, and means essayed, "for healing the breaches of our divisions amongst "ourselves; and that in order thereunto divers con-"ferences have been procured between you, though "to small effect: yet having at length received "fuller satisfaction, from those worthy gentlemen "that were secluded, than formerly; I was bold to "put you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I "might open myself to you all, even with more free-"dom than formerly: but lest I might be misappre-"hended or mistaken, as of late it befell me, I have "committed to writing the heads of what I intended "to discourse to you, and desire it may be read "openly to you all.

"Gentlemen,

"It appears unto me, by what I have heard from "you and the whole nation, that the peace and "happy settlement of these bleeding nations, next "under God, lieth in your hands. And when I "consider that wisdom, piety, and self-denial, which "I have reason to be confident lodgeth in you, and "how great a share of the nation's sufferings will "fall upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a

Christendom; that he thought a moderate, not a rigid presbyterian government would be most acceptable, and the best way of settlement in the affairs of the church; that their care would be necessary to settle the conduct of the army, and to provide maintenance for the forces by sea and land; and concluded with a desire that they would put a period to the present parliament, and give order for the calling another that might make a perfect settlement, to which all men might submit. There was no dissimulation in this, &c. *as in p.* 417, *l.* 14.

BOOK XVI. 1660. "settlement, I am in very good hopes, there will "be found in you all such melting bowels towards "these poor nations, and towards one another, that "you will become healers, and makers up, of all its "woful breaches. And that such an opportunity "may clearly appear to be in your hands, I thought "good to assure you, and that in the presence of "God, that I have nothing before my eyes but "God's glory, and the settlement of these na-"tions upon commonwealth foundations. In pur-"suit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and "for my own particular, I shall throw myself down "at your feet to be any thing or nothing in order "to these great ends. As to the way of future "settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing; "I desire you may be in perfect freedom; only give "me leave to mind you, that the old foundations "are by God's providence so broken, that, in the "eye of reason, they cannot be restored, but upon "the ruins of the people of these nations, that have "engaged for their rights, in defence of the parlia-"ment, and the great and main ends of the cove-"nant, for uniting and making the Lord's name one "in the three nations: and also the liberty of the "people's representatives in parliament will be cer-"tainly lost; for if the people find, that after so "long and bloody a war against the king for break-"ing in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be "taken in again, it will be out of question, and is "most manifest, he may for the future govern by "his will, dispose of parliaments and parliament-"men as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never "more rise for assistance.

"And as to the interest of this famous city, (which

" hath been in all ages the bulwark of parliaments, " and unto whom I am for their great affection so " deeply engaged,) certainly it must lie in a com- " monwealth; that government only being capable " to make them, through the Lord's blessing, the " metropolis and bank of the trade for all Christen- " dom; whereunto God and nature hath fitted them " above others.

" And as to a government in the church, the want " whereof hath been no small cause of these nations' " distractions, it is most manifest, that if it be mo- " narchical in the state, the church must follow, and " prelacy must be brought in; which these nations, " I know, cannot bear, and against which they have " so solemnly sworn.

" And indeed moderate, not rigid presbyterian " government, with a sufficient liberty for con- " sciences truly tender, appears at present to be " the most indifferent and acceptable way to the " church's settlement.

" The main thing that seems to lie in the way is " the interest of the lords, even of those lords who " have shewed themselves noble indeed, by joining " with the people, and in defence of those just rights " have adventured their dearest blood and large " estates. To that I shall only say, that though the " state of these nations be such, as cannot bear their " sitting in a distinct House; yet, certainly, the wis- " dom of parliament will find out such hereditary " marks of honour for them, as may make them " more noble in after ages.

" Gentlemen,

" Upon the whole matter, the best result that I

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"can make at present for the peace of these nations, "will be, in my opinion, that you forthwith go to "sit together in parliament, in order,

1. "To the settling the conduct of the armies of "the three nations in that manner, as they may be "serviceable to the peace and safety of them, and "not to its own and the nation's ruin, by faction "and division.

2. "To the providing sufficient maintenance for "them; that is, for the forces by land, and for the "navy by the sea, and all the arrears of both, and "other contingencies of the government.

3. "To the appointing a council of state with au-"thority to settle the civil government and judica-"tories in Scotland and Ireland, and to take care "for the issuing of writs for the summoning a par-"liament of these three nations united, to meet at "Westminster the 20th day of April next, with "such qualifications as may secure the public cause "we are all engaged in, and according to such dis-"tributions as were used in the year 1654. Which "parliament so called may meet and act in freedom, "for the more full establishing of this common-"wealth, without a king, single person, or house of "lords.

4. "To a legal dissolution of this parliament, to "make way for succession of parliaments.

"And in order to these good ends, the guards "will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully "both myself, and every the officers under my com-"mand; and I believe the officers and soldiers of "the three nations will spend their blood for you "and successive parliaments.

"If your conjunction be directed to this end, you

"may part honourably, having made a fair step to "the settlement of these nations, by making a way "for successive parliaments. BOOK XVI. 1660.

"But I must needs say, that if any different "counsel should be taken, (which I have no reason "to fear,) these nations would presently be thrown "back into force and violence, and all hopes of this "much desired establishment buried in disorder: "which the Lord in his great mercy I hope will "prevent. And so God speed you well together, "and unite your hearts for the preservation of peace "and settlement of these nations, to his glory, and "yours, and all our comforts."

Divers who heard this, thought[q] there was no dissimulation in it[r], in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the king: for, without doubt, he had not to this hour seemed to them to have[s] any purpose or thought to serve him, but appeared to be really[t] of the opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work impossible. So that they thought he desired[u] nothing, but that he might see a commonwealth established in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the prince of Orange possessed in that government. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland to this time, had much public conversation[x] with any persons who had served the king[y]; nor had he hither-

[q] Divers who heard this, thought] *Not in MS.*

[r] in it] in this

[s] seemed to them to have] entertained

[t] but appeared to be really] but was really

[u] So that they thought he desired] And desired

[x] much public conversation] any conversation

[y] served the king] *MS. adds:*

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to, or, for some time after, did he set one of the king's friends at liberty, though all the prisons were full of them; but, on the contrary, they were every day committed by the rump parliament [z]; and with them [a] it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the king's restoration.

The secluded members go to the house.

Their transactions there.

As soon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the parliament, they who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired to the house on Feb. the 21st [b], and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for him who had so well provided for them, by renewing and enlarging the general's commission, and revoking all other commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign quarters to any part of the forces.

They who had sat before, had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons generally [c] of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenet in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the king's party. All these commissions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no person should be capable of being trusted in that province, who did not first declare under his hand, "that he did con-

or indeed had he acquaintance with any such

[z] by the rump parliament] *Not in MS.*

[a] with them] *Not in MS.*

[b] on Feb. the 21st] *Not in MS.*

[c] generally] *Not in MS.*

"fess, and acknowledge, that the war raised by the "two houses of parliament against the late king "was just, and lawful, until such time as force and "violence was used upon the parliament in the year "1648."

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In the last place, they raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, for the payment of the army, and defraying the public expenses for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted; and the city of London, upon the credit and security of that act, advanced as much ready money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out writs to call a parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660,) and then, on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of March, after they had appointed a council of state, of which there were many sober and honest gentlemen, who did not wish the king ill, they dissolved that present parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of their party in the city of London [d], that they would not dissolve themselves,) but to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long parliament.

They issue writs for a new parliament; and dissolve themselves, and appoint a new council of state.

When the king, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of general Monk to London with his army might produce some altera-

The king's affairs at Brussels during this time.

[d] in the name of their party in the city of London] in the name of the city of London

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tion that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the parliament, and of his entering the city, and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the small court[s] of the king; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the general's second march into the city was within two or three days[t] after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of bells, and bonfires, and burning of rumps, and such other additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

The king hears on the same day of both the marches of the general into the city.

When it begun to be dark, the lord marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the chancellor's lodging at Brussels; which was under the king's bedchamber, and to which his majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any business. The marquis said no more but "that "that man had formerly been an officer under him, "and he believed he was an honest man; besides,

[s] small court] whole court

[t] within two or three days] the very next day

"that he brought a line or two of credit from a person they would both believe; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he would call the king to judge;" and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the king.

The man's name was Baily; who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little: his relation was, "that in the afternoon of such a day, he was with sir John Stephens in Lambeth house, used then as a prison for many of the king's friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, news was brought into the house by several persons, that the general was marched with his whole army into the city, (it being within two or three days[g] after he had been there, and broke down their gates, and pulled down their posts,) and that he had a conference with the mayor and aldermen; which was no sooner ended, but that all the city bells rang out; and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth: and that he stayed there so late, till they saw the bonfires burning and flaming in the city: upon which sir John Stephens had desired him, that he would immediately cross the river, and go into London, and inquire what the matter was; and if he found any thing extraordinary in it, that he would take post, and make all possible haste to Brussels, that the king might be informed of it; and so gave him a short note in writing to the

[g] within two or three days] the very next day

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"marquis of Ormond, that he might believe all that "the messenger would inform him: that thereupon "he went over the river, walked through Cheap-"side, saw the bonfires, and the king's health drank "in several places, heard all that the general had "done, and brought a copy of the letter which the "general had sent to the parliament, at the time "when he returned with his army into the city; "and then told many things, which were," he said, "publicly spoken, concerning sending for the king: "that then he took post for Dover, and hired a bark "that brought him to Ostend."

The time was so short from the hour he left London, that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the most important affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his majesty, and the other two; and had been sent over lately by the king, with some advice to his friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth house. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the king could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the general's letter to the parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the king thought he had argument

to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants; who, upon the news thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such vast hopes, as would be very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for. [h]

But the king, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The most that he could collect from the general's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the rump [i] parliament, was, that, possibly, at last [k] the excluded members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that council. And even this administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his majesty. Several of those excluded members had not been true members of parliament, but elected, after the end of the war, into their places who had been expelled for adhering to the king; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit great seal had given them, without and against the king's authority. It was thought these men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing, and

[h] such vast hopes, as would be very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for.] such unreasonable presumption, that no success could procure satisfaction for.

[i] rump] *Not in MS.*

[k] possibly, at last] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XVI. 1660. desirous, that the concessions made by the late king at the Isle of Wight might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the king, near as much establish a republican government, as was settled after his murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the house; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

Now what could the king reasonably expect from these men's readmission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions? which his late majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful men then in the parliament, "that he should not be obliged "to accomplish that agreement." These revolvings wrought much upon his majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his majesty had heard before was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the king recovered his hopes again; which were every day

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Many now apply to the king.

The council of state's kind behaviour now to the king's friends.

increased by the addresses of many men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next parliament. And from the time that the parliament was dissolved, the council of state behaved themselves very civilly towards his majesty's friends, and released many of them out of prison: particularly Annesley, when president of the council, was very well contented that the king should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his majesty, and returned a dutiful answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the king knew not what to think of the general's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could seem to have[1] no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth. Few or none of his majesty's friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the king had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the king, "of what importance it "would be, that he gave them some credit, or means "of access to the general, by which they might re-"ceive his order and direction in such things as oc-"curred on the sudden, and that they might be sure "to do nothing that might cross any purpose of his." To which the king returned no other answer, "but "that they should have patience, and make no at-

[1] could seem to have] could have

BOOK XVI. 1660. "tempt whatsoever; and that in due time they "should receive all advertisements necessary;" it being not thought fit to disclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of, the general; since it was very evident, that the received opinion, that he did design to serve the king, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his majesty's service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the assurance, that the other party thought they had[m], that he had no such intention, hindered those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessened his credit with his own army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time a business[n] that very much troubled the king, and might very probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the dissolution of the parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of those who had been the chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had been the late king's judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from the secluded members, as they were to expect if the king himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the rump, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assem-

[m] that the other party thought they had] that other men had

[n] a business] an accident

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bling a new parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the rump members would again resume the government, notwithstanding their dissolution by the power of the secluded members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand, and Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for general Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. And they inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who, they supposed,[o] were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the soldiers of general Monk's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; his party having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the general had as great a jealousy of this man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had command of the place were notoriously

Lambert's escape out of the Tower.

[o] they supposed,] *Not in MS.*

BOOK XVI. known neither to love Lambert's person, nor to favour his designs.

1660. This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general, and the council of state, into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done,) he would have gone near to have shaken at least [p] the model the general had made.

But either through the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of

[p] shaken at least] shaken and dissolved

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which he had experience,) or the presumption, that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for him; and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all his designs. He stayed not at all in London, as it was his interest to have done[q], but hastened into the country; and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he thought himself sure of, the general had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet, with great expedition, Lambert drew four troops of the army to him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonshire, a country famous[r] for disaffection to the king, and for adhering to the parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

He draws four troops of the army to him near Daventry.

But the general, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of colonel Ingoldsby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him,) to attend and watch all his motions with his own regiment of horse; which was the more faithful to him for having been

The general sends Ingoldsby against him with his own regiment, and a body of foot under colonel Streater.

[q] as it was his interest to have done] as he ought to have done

[r] famous] infamously famous

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before seduced by Lambert to desert him. Ingoldsby, being joined with a good body of foot under colonel Streater,[s] used so much diligence in waiting upon Lambert's motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him prisoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldsby; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, "that he would himself retire to "his house, and send his troop to obey his com"mands;" which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingoldsby, and informed him where Lambert was. He thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

One of Lambert's troops revolts to Ingoldsby:

Lambert, surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, saw his enemy much superior to him in number; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. Lambert proposed to him, "that they might restore Richard to "be protector;" and promised to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. But Ingoldsby (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest; and adhered to the general, because he presumed that he did intend to serve the king, and so rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under

And another also.

[s] being joined with a good body of foot under colonel Streater,] *Not in MS.*

his enemy, he concluded, that his safety would depend upon his flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingoldsby keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him, and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

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Lambert and his party dispersed.

He and others taken.

With him were taken Cobbet[t], Creed, and some other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the general, in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. Ingoldsby returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the privy council; who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers; and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding parliament; which was to assemble soon after[u] the prisoners were brought before the council; and would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness, if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

[x] In this short interval between the return of the secluded members, and the convention of the new

[t] Cobbet] Oakes, Axtell, Cobbet

[u] soon after] the next day after

[x] In this short interval—with moderation.] *Thus in MS.:* In this interval between the dissolution of the last and convention of the new parliament, the council of state did many prudent actions, which were good presages that the future counsels would proceed with moderation. They released &c. *as in page* 432. *line* 6.

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The parliament's and council of state's prudent actions.

Before the assembling of the new parliament they release sir George Booth, &c.

parliament, many prudent actions and alterations (besides what have been already mentioned) were begun by that parliament, before it was dissolved, and finished afterwards by the council of state; which were good presages, that the future councils would proceed with moderation. They released sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the king's party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely trusted by the king, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the council, and some officers of the army, as Ingoldsby and Huntington, &c. made, through him, tender of their services to the king.

They reform the navy by making Monk and Mountague admirals.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the navy; which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republican. The present fleet prepared for the summer service was under the command of vice-admiral Lawson; an excellent seaman, but then a notorious anabaptist; who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the city; and, by the power of his fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the committee of safety, and restore the rump parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove Lawson, yet so

far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them, as he had done the committee of safety [y]. In order to this they concluded, that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own house, under a cloud, and jealousy of being inclined too much to the king, and made him and the general (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague only would go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take care for good officers, and seamen, for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the king for his approbation, before he would accept the charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the general; and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his majesty's service with more generosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the king.

An account of admiral Mountague.

Mountague was of a noble family, of which some were too much addicted to innovations in religion, and, in the beginning of the troubles, appeared against the king; though his father, who had been long a servant to the crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only son within those limits: but being young, and more out

[y] as he had done the committee of safety] *Not in MS.*

of his father's control by being married into a family, which, at that time, also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him, first, joined in commission with Blake; and then, in the sole command[z] by sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least show of acrimony towards any who had served the king; and was so much in love with monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered to him by his parliament. He was designed by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two kings of Sweden and Denmark; but was, in truth, to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede; with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance. He was upon this expedition, when Richard was scornfully thrown out of the protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that command) with Algernon Sidney, and the other

[z] sole command] sole command of several expeditions

plenipotentiaries which the rump parliament sent to reconcile those crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the king thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his service.

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There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the lord Mountague of Boughton, and his near kinsman; with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the king, and very well known to the chancellor, to have good affections and resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant voyage, only to dispose his cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his majesty. At this time sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the parliament which was then possessed of the government. And it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment, whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the king.

The chancellor thereupon prepared such a letter in his own name, as his majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of "sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and "in the head of an army; and that his majesty was "assured of many other places; and of a general "combination between persons of the greatest in-"terest, to declare for the king; and that, if he "would bring his fleet upon the coast, his majesty,

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"or the duke of York, would immediately be on "board with him." This letter was enclosed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered, or not delivered, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an express, who was then thought not to be without some credit with the admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay; and where all the plenipotentiaries from the parliament then were,) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who, the same night, delivered the other to his cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the chancellor, as was evidence enough that his majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any service that the admiral could perform for him. With this answer the messenger returned to Brussels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this messenger's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to require of the king of Denmark, that he might be committed to prison, admiral Mountague declared, "that he should not be able to stay longer there for "the want of victual; of which he had not more "than would serve to carry him home; and there-"fore desired, that they would press both kings, "and the Dutch plenipotentiaries, to finish the ne-"gociation." By this time the news of the commotions[a] in England made a great noise, and were reported, according to the affections of the persons who sent letters thither, more to the king's advantage than there was reason for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know, that the man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with Edward Mountague; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that negociation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet; of which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses over land, to acquaint the parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his

[a] commotions] revolutions

BOOK XVI. 1660. pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the king so totally crushed, and the rump parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that the admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "by his "scarcity of victual, which must have failed, if he "had stayed till the winter had shut him up in the "Sound;" and his return was resolved upon the joint advice of the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the parliament, and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that Mountague went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the parliament, and general Monk's march into England, and till near the time that the name and title of that parliament was totally abolished and extinguished; and then the secluded members being restored [b], called [c] him to resume the command of the fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good symptoms in the state, raised his majesty's hopes and expectation

[b] the secluded members being restored] *Not in MS.*

[c] called] the council of state called

higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his majesty, of the general, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium;* no persons trusted by his majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall[d] from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

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The general's counsels at this time.

The general was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the king's party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the city, with those who were thought to be presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the king, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation, that did not comprehend his interest, and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his majesty's power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the crown, or of bishops, or of delinquents; and nobody spoke more favourably[e], than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

He had a conference with divers at Northumberland-house.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-house in a con-

[d] nor was any word known to fall] nor did any word fall

[e] favourably] moderately

BOOK XVI. 1660. ference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate presbyterian party; who, most of them, would have been contented[f], their own security being provided for, that the king should be restored to his full rights, and the church to its possessions. In this conference, the king's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the general insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the general, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was by many[g] then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely, with sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcileable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party, which desired not to preserve any face of government in the church, or uniformity in the public exercise of religion. This made the lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very

[f] contented] very glad

[g] by many] *Not in MS.*

wary in their discourses with the general, and jealous of his inclinations.

BOOK XVI.

1660.

He consults with Mr. Morrice.

There was, at this time, in much conversation and trust with the general, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts; and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the king, if he had not good affections for him; which they who knew him best, believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the general, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his estate in that country, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing parliament, had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the general consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "he found most "men of quality and interest inclined to call in the "king, but upon such conditions as must be very "ungrateful, if possible to be received;" and the London ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the covenant being new printed [h], and, by order, fixed up [i] in all churches, they, in their sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the king, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the people should return to their allegiance.

[h] that the covenant being new printed] that they had caused the covenant to be new printed

[i] fixed up] and to be secretly fixed up

BOOK XVI.

1660.

That which wrought most upon the general, was the choice which was begun to be made [k] in all counties for members to serve in parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the king, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and detest the government that succeeded: so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controlled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the king; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections of the west, "where the king's restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had "made choice of few or no members to serve for "Cornwall, or Devonshire, but such, who, they "were confident, would contribute all they could to "invite the king to return. And when that subject "was once upon the stage, they who concurred with "most frankness would find most credit; and they "who opposed it would be overborne with lasting "reproach." When the general had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance that design [l]; and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsels and contrivance.

There was then in the town a gentleman well

[k] was begun to be made] was generally made]

[l] that design] what he plainly saw he should not be able to hinder

known to be a servant of eminent trust to the king, sir John Greenvil, who, from the time of the surrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his estate, and sometimes his liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the general into Scotland the clergyman, his brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his majesty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt; who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the general was allied; and he had been obliged to his father, sir Bevil Greenvil; who lost his life at the battle of Lansdown for the king, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend, Mr. Morrice; who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

Sir John Greenvil introduced to the general by Mr. Morrice.

The general was content, that sir John Greenvil should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life; he told him, "he "meant to send him to the king; with whom, he "presumed, he had credit enough to be believed "without any testimony; for he was resolved not "to write to the king, nor to give him any thing in "writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. Mor-"rice, and to take short memorials in his own hand "of those particulars he should offer to him in dis-"course; which when he had done, he would him-"self confer with him again at an hour he should

BOOK XVI. 1660.

" appoint." And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.

That which Mr. Morrice communicated to Greenvil, was, after he had enlarged upon " the perplexity " the general was in, by the several humours and " factions which prevailed, and that he durst not " trust any officer of his own army, or any friend " but himself, with his own secret purposes;" he advised, " that the king should write a letter to the " general; in which, after kind and gracious ex- " pressions, he should desire him to deliver the en- " closed letter and declaration to the parliament;" the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration, Morrice discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.

After sir John Greenvil had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the general; to whom he read the short notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the general said, that if the " king writ to that purpose, when he brought the " letter to him, he would keep it in his hands, till " he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think " of another way to serve his majesty." Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the king to consent to, which was, his majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know, that the Spaniard had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends

The transactions between the general, Morrice, and Greenvil.

were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his majesty would "make haste to Breda, and that, for the public "satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had "left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writ-"ing should bear date as from Breda;" and he enjoined sir John Greenvil "not to return, till he had "himself seen the king out of the dominions of "Flanders." Thus instructed, he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Brussels.

Thus instructed, sir John Greenvil goes over to Brussels with Mr. Mordaunt.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the king, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniard looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the several animosities and emulations of the different factions among themselves; a contention only between the presbyterian-republicans on one side, and the independent and levelling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the state, without the least reference to the king's interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore don Alonzo, by his Irish agents, (who made him believe any thing,) continued firm to the levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured, would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the king, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them.

BOOK XVI. 1660. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Brussels; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person, who was intrusted by him, into Zealand to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negociation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the king, and suffered him to be without that small supply, which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the Spanish ministers, when Mr. Mordaunt and sir John Greenvil came to Brussels. And don Alonzo had [m] so fully possessed the court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the chancellor, in his letters to sir Harry Bennet, his majesty's resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the king, he answered plainly, "that he durst not "communicate any of those letters to the ministers "there; who would laugh at him for abusing them, "since they looked upon all those hopes of the king "as imaginary, and without foundation of sense, and "upon his condition as most deplorable, and abso"lutely desperate."

Sir John Greenvil gives the king an account of his negociation with the general.

When sir John Greenvil had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far

[m] don Alonzo had] they had

discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be apprehended [u] to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour, nor his conscience, that those who had sat as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was advised, "that there might be "no exception: or that above four might not be ex- "cepted; because," it was alleged, "that some of "them had facilitated the general's march by falling "from Lambert, and others had barefaced advanced "the king's service very much."

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1660.

The king's delibera- tions upon the terms proposed by the general.

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience

[u] apprehended] comprehended

BOOK XVI. 1660. and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the parliament, rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged.

The advice for his majesty's remove out of Flanders presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to Holland; where he had been as unkindly [o] used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But besides the authority which the general's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the king; and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions: Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And

[o] unkindly] barbarously

upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two crowns, the king had sent to Lockhart, the governor, and general of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the king,) and by the uncertainty of Lockhart's own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the king, and to receive his majesty into that garrison; which might be facilitated by his majesty's troops, if he did not think his own soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the trust he had received, and the indecency of "breaking it; though," he confessed, "there was "such a jealousy of him in the council of state, for "his relation and alliance to Cromwell, that he ex-"pected every day to be removed from that com-"mand;" as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts, and of honour,) or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottish,[p] but in his own family,) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France,

[p] which was the Scottish,] *Not in MS.*

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with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

The king was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that parricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the king to depend upon their virtue and justice.

When the summons were sent out to call the parliament, there was no mention or thought of a house of peers; nor had the general intimated any such thing to sir John Greenvil; nor did sir John himself, or Mr. Mordaunt, conceive that any of the lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the commons. However, the king thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the house of commons; and likewise another to the fleet;[q] and another to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London; who, by adhering to the general, were like to add very much to his authority.

[q] and likewise another to the fleet;] *Not in MS.*

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When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the king, which he resolved to send by sir John Greenvil to the general, (Greenvil's and Mordaunt's being in Brussels being unknown; they, attending his majesty only in the night at the chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any,) his majesty visited the marquis of Carracena, and told him, "that he intended "the next day to go to Antwerp, and from thence "to Breda, to spend two or three days with his sister the princess of Orange;" to whom the dukes of York and Gloucester were already gone, to acquaint her with the king's purpose; and his majesty likewise, in confidence, informed him, "that there were "some persons come from England, who would not "venture to come to Brussels, from whom he expected some propositions and informations, which "might prove beneficial to him; which obliged him "to make that journey to confer with them."

The letters prepared to the parliament, &c. which the general advised.

The king declares to the marquis of Carracena, "that he intended to go for some days to Breda, to meet his sister."

The marquis seemed to think that of little moment; and said, "that don Alonzo expected every "day to receive assurance, that the levellers would "unite themselves to the king's interest, upon more "moderate conditions than they had hitherto made;" but desired his majesty, "that the duke of York "might hasten his journey into Spain, to receive the "command that was there reserved for him;" and the king desired him; "that the forces he had pro"mised for his service might be ready against his "return to be embarked upon the first appearance "of a hopeful occasion." So they parted; and his majesty went the next day to Antwerp, with that small retinue he used to travel with.

BOOK XVI. 1660. The Spaniard's design to seize his majesty, discovered.

[r] His departure was some hours earlier than the marquis imagined; and the reason of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, page at that time to don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the lord Chancellor's lodgings, and finding his secretary in his own room, told him, "he must needs speak presently with his lord; for "he had something to impart to him that concerned "the king's life." The chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "that his lord don "Alonzo and the marquis of Carracena had been "long together that evening; and, that himself had "overheard them saying something of sending a "guard to attend the king: that, about an hour "after, they parted; and the marquis sent a paper "to don Alonzo; who, when he went to bed, laid it "on his table: that himself, who lay in his master's "antechamber, looked into the paper, when his master was in bed; and, seeing what it was, had "brought it to the chancellor:" It imported an order to an officer to attend the king with a party of horse, for a guard wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before,) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the town. As soon as the chancellor had read the order, he sent his secretary with it to the king; who was in bed likewise; and his majesty having read it, the secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The king

[r] His departure—Spanish governor. *page* 453. *line* 12.] *This account is not in the MSS. but taken from some private papers of lord Clarendon's.*

commanded the chancellor's secretary to call up his majesty's querry, sir William Armorer; and to him his majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy, "that he would be gone at three of the clock "that morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the marquis of Ormond, sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and inquire for the king; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish governor.

The king goes towards Breda, and delivers to sir John Greenvil the letters prepared.

As soon as his majesty came into the States' dominions, which was about the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to sir John Greenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the general, "that he had seen his "majesty out of Flanders") all those despatches, which were prepared, and dated, as from Breda, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his majesty was to be that night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the general, upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the originals, choose whether he would deliver them[s], if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the king, "that though he had no order to propose it

[s] might, without opening the originals, choose whether he would deliver them] might choose whether to deliver the originals

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"directly to his majesty; yet he could assure him, "it would be the most grateful and obliging thing "his majesty could do towards the general, if he "would give him leave to assure him, that, as soon "as he came into England, he would bestow the "office of one of the secretaries of state upon Mr. "Morrice; who was as well qualified for it, as any "man who had not been versed in the knowledge "of foreign affairs." One of those places was then void by the earl of Bristol's becoming Roman catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the general, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to the general. With these despatches sir John Greenvil, and Mr. Mordaunt, who privately expected his return at Antwerp, made what haste they could towards England; and the king went that night to Breda. The letters which the king writ to the general, and to the house of commons, and the other letters, with the declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

Sir John Greenvil and Mr. Mordaunt return towards England.

*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk, to be by him communicated to the president, and council of state, and to the officers of the armies under his command.*

"*Charles R.*

The letter of the king to the general and the army.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: "It cannot be believed, but that we have been, are, "and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by all

BOOK XVI. 1660.

" endeavours to improve the affections of our good " subjects at home, and to procure the assistance of " our friends and allies abroad, for the recovery of " that right, which, by the laws of God and man, is " unquestionable; and of which we have been so " long dispossessed by such force, and with those " circumstances, as we do not desire to aggravate " by any sharp expressions; but rather wish, that " the memory of what is past may be buried to the " world. That we have more endeavoured to pre- " pare and to improve the affections of our subjects " at home for our restoration, than to procure as- " sistance from abroad to invade either of our king- " doms, is as manifest to the world. And we can- " not give a better evidence that we are still of the " same mind, than in this conjuncture; when com- " mon reason must satisfy all men, that we cannot " be without assistance from abroad, we choose ra- " ther to send to you, who have it in your power to " prevent that ruin and desolation which a war " would bring upon the nation, and to make the " whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, security, " and glory it shall enjoy, to your virtue; and to " acknowledge that your armies have complied with " their obligations, for which they were first raised, " for the preservation of the protestant religion, the " honour and dignity of the king, the privileges of " parliament, the liberty and property of the sub- " ject, and the fundamental laws of the land; and " that you have vindicated that trust, which others " most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How much " we desire and resolve to contribute to those good " ends, will appear to you by our enclosed declara- " tion; which we desire you to cause to be pub-

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"lished for the information and satisfaction of all "good subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion "of precious Christian blood, but to have their "peace and security founded upon that which can "only support it, an unity of affections amongst "ourselves, an equal administration of justice to "men, restoring parliaments to a full capacity of "providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of the "land to their due veneration.

"You have been yourselves witnesses of so many "revolutions, and have had so much experience, how "far any power and authority that is only assumed "by passion and appetite, and not supported by jus- "tice, is from providing for the happiness and peace "of the people, or from receiving any obedience "from them, (without which no government can "provide for them,) that you may very reasonably "believe, that God hath not been so well pleased "with the attempts that have been made, since he "hath usually increased the confusion, by giving all "the success that hath been desired, and brought "that to pass without effect, which the designers "have proposed as the best means to settle and "compose the nation: and therefore we cannot but "hope and believe, that you will concur with us in "the remedy we have applied; which, to human "understanding, is only proper for the ills we all "groan under; and that you will make yourselves "the blessed instruments to bring this blessing of "peace and reconciliation upon king and people; it "being the usual method in which divine Provi- "dence delighteth itself, to use and sanctify those "very means, which ill men design for the satisfac- "tion of private and particular ends and ambition,

" and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and pub-
" lic ends, and to establish that good which is most
" contrary to the designers; which is the greatest
" manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a na-
" tion that can be given in this world. How far we
" resolve to preserve your interests, and reward your
" services, we refer to our declaration; and we hope
" God will inspire you to perform your duty to us,
" and to your native country; whose happiness can-
" not be separated from each other.

" We have intrusted our well-beloved servant
" sir John Greenvil, one of the gentlemen of our
" bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give
" us an account of your reception of it, and to desire
" you, in our name, that it may be published. And
" so we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 4/14th of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved, the speaker of the house of commons.*

" *Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: In
" these great and insupportable afflictions and cala-
" mities, under which the poor nation hath been so
" long exercised, and by which it is so near ex-
" hausted, we cannot think of a more natural and
" proper remedy, than to resort to those for counsel
" and advice, who have seen and observed the first
" beginning of our miseries, the progress from bad
" to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings,
" which have been produced, and contributed to in-

The letter to the house of commons.

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"conveniences which were not intended; and after "so many revolutions, and the observation of what "hath attended them, are now trusted by our good "subjects to repair the breaches which are made, "and to provide proper remedies for those evils, and "for the lasting peace, happiness, and security of "the kingdom.

"We do assure you upon our royal word, that "none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem "of parliaments, than we have in our judgment, as "well as from our obligation; we do believe them "to be so vital a part of the constitution of the "kingdom, and so necessary for the government of "it, that we well know neither prince nor people "can be in any tolerable degree happy without "them; and therefore you may be confident, that "we shall always look upon their counsels, as the "best we can receive; and shall be as tender of "their privileges, and as careful to preserve and "protect them, as of that which is most near to "ourself, and most necessary for our own preser-"vation.

"And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that "their authority is most necessary for the govern-"ment of the kingdom; so we are most confident, "that you believe, and find, that the preservation "of the king's authority is as necessary for the pre-"servation of parliaments; and that it is not the "name, but the right constitution of them, which "can prepare and apply proper remedies for those "evils which are grievous to the people, and which "can thereby establish their peace and security. "And therefore we have not the least doubt, but "that you will be as tender in, and as jealous of,

"any thing that may infringe our honour, or impair "our authority, as of your own liberty and property; "which is best preserved by preserving the other.

"How far we have trusted you in this great af-"fair, and how much it is in your power to restore "the nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem "it from any infamy it hath undergone, and to "make the king and people as happy as they ought "to be; you will find by our enclosed declaration; "a copy of which we have likewise sent to the "house of peers: and you will easily believe, that "we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, have re-"posed so great a trust in you, but upon an entire "confidence that you will not abuse it, and that "you will proceed in such a manner, and with such "due consideration of us who have trusted you, "that we shall not be ashamed of declining other "assistance, (which we have assurance of,) and re-"pairing to you for more natural and proper reme-"dies for the evils we would be freed from; nor "sorry, that we have bound up our own interests "so entirely with that of our subjects, as that we "refer it to the same persons to take care of us, "who are trusted to provide for them. We look "upon you as wise and dispassionate men, and good "patriots, who will raise up those banks and fences "which have been cast down, and who will most "reasonably hope, that the same prosperity will "again spring from those roots, from which it hath "heretofore and always grown; nor can we appre-"hend that you will propose any thing to us, or ex-"pect any thing from us, but what we are as ready "to give, as you to receive.

"If you desire the advancement and propagation

"of the protestant religion, we have, by our constant profession, and practice of it, given sufficient "testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor "the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession, (of both which we have had an "abundant evidence,) could in the least degree "startle us, or make us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and "affection for it, to which we will not readily consent. And we hope, in due time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for the propagation of it, "that will satisfy the world, that we have always "made it both our care and our study, and have "enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

"If you desire security for those who, in these "calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have "transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, "and have invaded each other's rights, we have "left to you to provide for their security and indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think "just and reasonable; and by a just computation "of what men have done and suffered, as near as is "possible, to take care that all men be satisfied; "which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate "all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might "hereafter shake and threaten that peace, which "for the present might seem established. If there "be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot "doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem "it, and vindicate the nation from that guilt and "infamy, as we can be.

" If you desire that reverence and obedience may BOOK
" be paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and XVI.
that justice may be equally and impartially ad- 1660.
" ministered to all men, it is that which we desire
" to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons in
" power and authority should be so too.

" In a word, there is nothing that you can pro-
" pose that may make the kingdom happy, which
" we will not contend with you to compass; and
" upon this confidence and assurance, we have
" thought fit to send you this declaration, that you
" may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see
" our heart; which, when God shall bring us nearer
" together, (as we hope he will do shortly,) will ap-
" pear to you very agreeable to what we have pro-
" fessed; and we hope, that we have made that
" right Christian use of our affliction, and that the
" observation and experience we have had in other
" countries, have been such, as that we, and, we
" hope, all our subjects, shall be the better for what
" we have seen and suffered.

" We shall add no more, but our prayers to Al-
" mighty God, that he will so bless your counsels,
" and direct your endeavours, that his glory and
" worship may be provided for; and the peace, ho-
" nour, and happiness of the nation may be esta-
" blished upon those foundations which can best sup-
" port it. And so we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

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The king's declaration.

*His majesty's declaration.*

" *Charles R.*

" Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, " Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the " faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what de- " gree or quality soever, greeting. If the general " distraction and confusion, which is spread over " the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a " desire, and longing, that those wounds, which have " so many years together been kept bleeding, may " be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. " However, after this long silence, we have thought " it our duty to declare, how much we desire to " contribute thereunto: and that, as we can never " give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the " possession of that right, which God and nature " hath made our due; so we do make it our daily " suit to the divine Providence, that he will, in com- " passion to us and our subjects, after so long misery " and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and " peaceable possession of that our right, with as little " blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor " do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that " all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, " by a full and entire administration of justice " throughout the land, and by extending our mercy " where it is wanted and deserved.

" And to the end that fear of punishment may " not engage any conscious to themselves of what is " past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by " opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, " in the restoration both of king, and peers, and peo- " ple, to their just, ancient, and fundamental rights;

" we do by these presents declare, that we do grant " a free and general pardon, which we are ready, " upon demand, to pass under our great seal of Eng- " land, to all our subjects of what degree or quality " soever, who, within forty days after the publishing " hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and fa- " vour, and shall by any public act declare their " doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and " obedience of good subjects; excepting only such " persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parlia- " ment. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, " how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, " solemnly given by this present declaration, that " no crime whatsoever committed against us, or our " royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever " rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against " any of them, to the least indamagement of them, " either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far " forth as lies in our power) so much as to the pre- " judice of their reputations, by any reproach, or " terms of distinction from the rest of our best sub- " jects; we desiring, and ordaining, that hencefor- " ward all notes of discord, separation, and differ- " ence of parties, be utterly abolished among all our " subjects; whom we invite and conjure to a perfect " union among themselves, under our protection, for " the resettlement of our just rights, and theirs, in " a free parliament; by which, upon the word of a " king, we will be advised.

" And because the passion and uncharitableness of " the times have produced several opinions in reli- " gion, by which men are engaged in parties and " animosities against each other; which, when they " shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation,

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"will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no "man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for "differences of opinion in matters of religion which "do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and "that we shall be ready to consent to such an act "of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall "be offered to us, for the full granting that indul- "gence.

"And because in the continued distractions of so "many years, and so many and great revolutions, "many grants and purchases of estates have been "made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, "who are now possessed of the same, and who may "be liable to actions at law, upon several titles; we "are likewise willing that all such differences, and "all things relating to such grants, sales, and pur- "chases, shall be determined in parliament; which "can best provide for the just satisfaction of all "men who are concerned.

"And we do farther declare, that we will be ready "to consent to any act or acts of parliament to the "purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of "all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the "army under the command of general Monk; and "that they shall be received into our service upon "as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy."

*Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our court at Breda, the 4/14th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

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His majesty's letter to the house of lords.

"*Charles R.*

"Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and trusty and right well-beloved; we greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise ourself an "end of our common sufferings and calamities, and "that our own just power and authority will, with "God's blessing, be restored to us, than that you are "again acknowledged to have that authority and "jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by "your birth, and the fundamental laws of the land: "and we have thought it very fit and safe for us to "call to you for your help, in the composing the "confounding distempers and distractions of the "kingdom; in which your sufferings are next to "those we have undergone ourself; and therefore "you cannot but be the most proper counsellors for "removing those mischiefs, and for preventing the "like for the future. How great a trust we repose "in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed "peace and security for the kingdom, will appear to "you by our enclosed declaration; which trust we "are most confident you will discharge with that "justice and wisdom that becomes you, and must "always be expected from you; and that, upon your "experience how one violation succeeds another, "when the known relations and rules of justice are "once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the "rights of the crown, and for the honour of your "king, as for yourselves: and then you cannot but "discharge your trust with good success, and provide "for and establish the peace, happiness, and honour "of king, lords, and commons, upon that foundation "which can only support it; and we shall be all

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"happy in each other; and as the whole kingdom "will bless God for you all, so we shall hold ourself "obliged in an especial manner to thank you in par- "ticular, according to the affection you shall express "towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon "this subject, because we have likewise writ to the "house of commons; which we suppose they will "communicate to you. And we pray God to bless "your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And "so we bid you very heartily farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk and general Mountague, generals at sea, to be communicated to the fleet.*

"*Charles R.*

His majesty's letter to the fleet.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It "is no small comfort to us, after so long and great "troubles and miseries, which the whole nation hath "groaned under; and after so great revolutions, "which have still increased those miseries, to hear "that the fleet and ships, which are the walls of the "kingdom, are put under the command of two per- "sons so well disposed to, and concerned in, the "peace and happiness of the kingdom, as we be- "lieve you to be; and that the officers and seamen "under your command are more inclined to return "to their duty to us, and put a period to these dis- "tempers and distractions, which have so impo- "verished and dishonoured the nation, than to "widen the breach, and to raise their fortunes by

" rapine and violence; which gives us great encou-" ragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal " the wounds by the same plaister that made the " flesh raw; that he will proceed in the same me-" thod in pouring his blessings upon us, which he " was pleased to use, when he began to afflict us; " and that the manifestation of the good affection " of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the peace " of the nation, may be the prologue to that peace, " which was first interrupted by the mistake and " misunderstanding of their predecessors; which " would be such a blessing upon us all, that we " should not be less delighted with the manner, than " the matter of it.

" In this hope and confidence, we have sent the " enclosed declaration to you; by which you may " discern, how much we are willing to contribute " towards the obtaining the general and public " peace; in which, as no man can be more, or so " much, concerned, so no man can be more solicit-" ous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, that " you will cause the said declaration to be published " to all the officers and seamen of the fleet; to the " end, that they may plainly discern, how much we " have put it into their power to provide for the " peace and happiness of the nation, who have been " always understood by them to be the best and " most proper counsellors for those good ends: and " you are likewise farther to declare to them, that " we have the same gracious purpose towards them, " which we have expressed towards the army at " land; and will be as ready to provide for the pay-" ment of all arrears due to them, and for reward-" ing them according to their several merits, as we

"have expressed to the other; and we will always "take so particular a care of them and their condi-"tion, as shall manifest our kindness towards them. "And so depending upon God's blessing, for infus-"ing those good resolutions into your and their "hearts, which are best for us all; we bid you fare-"well."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 14th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our*

*To our trusty and well-beloved the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of our city of London.*

"*Charles R.*

His majesty's letter to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In "these great revolutions of late, happened in that "our kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of "all the world, there is none that we have looked "upon with more comfort, than the so frequent "and public manifestations of their affections to us "in the city of London; which hath exceedingly "raised our spirits, and which, no doubt, hath pro-"ceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordi-"nary mercy to the nation; which hath been en-"couraged by you, and your good example, to as-"sert that government under which it hath, so "many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as "any nation in Europe; and to discountenance the "imaginations of those who would subject our sub-"jects to a government they have not yet devised, "and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill "men, would introduce the most arbitrary and ty-

"rannical power that was ever yet heard of. How "long we have all suffered under those and the "like devices, all the world takes notice, to the no "small reproach of the English nation; which we "hope is now providing for its own security and "redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by "those inventions.

"How desirous we are to contribute to the ob- "taining the peace and happiness of our subjects "without effusion of blood; and how far we are from "desiring to recover what belongs to us by a war, "if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by "the enclosed declaration; which, together with "this our letter, we have intrusted our right trusty "and well-beloved cousin, the lord viscount Mor- "daunt, and our trusty and well-beloved servant, "sir John Greenvil, knight, one of the gentlemen "of our bedchamber, to deliver to you; to the end, "that you, and all the rest of our good subjects of "that our city of London, (to whom we desire it "should be published,) may know, how far we are "from the desire of revenge, or that the peace, hap- "piness, and security of the kingdom, should be "raised upon any other foundation than the affec- "tions and hearts of our subjects, and their own "consents.

"We have not the least doubt of your just sense "of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to ad- "vance and promote the same good end, by dispos- "ing all men to meet us with the same affection "and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws "to that reverence that is due to them, and upon "the preservation whereof all our happiness de- "pends. And you will have no reason to doubt of

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"enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of "the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the "good they can for their native country, and to ad-"vance the honour of it; and as we have that full "affection for the kingdom in geneıal, so we would "not be thought to be without some extraordinary "kindness for our native city in that particular; "which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only "by renewing their charter, and confirming all "those privileges which they have received from "our predecessors, but by adding and granting any "new favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, "and honour of that our native city; for which we "will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it "will, in due time, receive some benefit and advan-"tage in all those respects, even from our own ob-"servation and experience abroad. And we are "most confident, we shall never be disappointed in "our expectation of all possible service from your "affections: and so we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, the [illegible]th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

Sir John Greenvil arrives in England, and communicates the letters to the general.

The two[t] gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the king returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the parliament was to begin. The general, upon the perusal of the copies of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself

[t] two] *Not in MS.*

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with great affection towards the king; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr. Morrice only excepted,) that he had received any letter from the king, till the very minute that he presented it to the house of commons.

The general's behaviour after that time.

There happened at the same time a concurrence which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction, that hindered the universal consent to call in the king, was the conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful and barbarous usage[u], which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the king, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they, who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the king's restoration, with extreme licence and insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the king's party caused[x] a declaration to be prepared; in which (after their

Declarations of the king's party at this time; which had great effect.

[u] reproachful and barbarous usage] reproaches

[x] caused—foundation.] *Thus in MS.:* caused a profession and protestation to be prepared, in which they declared that they looked upon their late sufferings as the effect of God's judgments upon their own particular sins, which had as much contributed to the miseries of the nation, as any other cause had done; and they did therefore protest, and call God to witness of such their protestation, that if it should please God to restore the king, they would be so far from remembering any injuries or discourtesies which they had sustained,

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acknowledgments and thanks to the general, "for "having, next under the divine Providence, so far "conducted these nations towards a happy recovery "of their laws and ancient government,") they sincerely professed, "that they reflected on their past "sufferings as from the hand of God; and therefore "did not cherish any violent thoughts or inclina-"tions against any persons whatsoever, who had "been any way instrumental in them; and that, if "the indiscretion of any particular persons should "transport them to expressions contrary to this "their general sense, they utterly disclaimed them." They farther promised, "by their quiet and peace-"able behaviour, to testify their submission to the "council of state, in expectation of the future par-"liament; on whose wisdom, they trusted, God "would give such a blessing, as might produce a "perfect settlement both in church and state." And lastly they declared, "that, as the general had not "chosen the sandy foundations of self-government, "but the firm rock of national interest, whereon to "frame a settlement, so it was their hope and "prayer, that, when the building should come to "be raised, it might not, like Rome, have the be-"ginning in the blood of brethren; nor, like Babel, "be interrupted by confusion of tongues; but that "all might speak one language, and be of one name; "that all mention of parties and factions, and all

in order to return the like to any who had disobliged them, that they resolved on nothing more than to live with the same affection and good neighbourhood towards them, as towards each other, and never to make the least reflection upon any thing that was past. These professions, &c. *as in page* 473, *line* 3.

rancour and animosities may be thrown in, and buried, like rubbish under the foundation."

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These professions, or to the same purpose, under the title of a declaration of the nobility, and gentry, and clergy [y], that had served the late king, or his present majesty, or adhered to the royal party in such a city or county, which was named, were signed by all the considerable persons therein; [z] as this that we have here mentioned was subscribed by great numbers in and about the cities of London and Westminster; and so were several others from other places; [z] and then all printed with their names, and published to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

The affairs of Ireland for some years past till this time.

Nothing hath been of late said of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing service for the king, were under as severe a captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them transported into foreign parts, for the service of the two kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and severities [a] exercised upon them in their own country;

[y] of the nobility, and gentry, and clergy] of all those

[z] as this that—other places;] Not in MS.

[a] severities] inhuman barbarities

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the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man as the protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorse prosecuted[b] by the English, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to

[b] prosecuted] killed

be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles which had been granted were not punctually observed to them; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the English, under some former grants, or other titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which reproach the Irish had taken so heavily from the earl of Strafford, when they were equally free with the English, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell to the rump parliament, as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army, as in the council of state, and amongst the civil magistrates. The lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the king; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his majesty service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir Charles Coot, who was president of Connaught, and had a good command, and interest in the army, was a man of less guilt[c], and more courage, and im-

[c] of less guilt] of less wit and less guilt

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patience to serve the king. He sent over sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish gentleman of good affection to the king, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman sir Charles Coot sent to Brussels to the marquis of Ormond, "that he might assure his majesty "of his affection and duty; and that, if his majesty "would vouchsafe himself to come into Ireland, he "was confident the whole kingdom would declare "for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the state, in Ireland, under the character of presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, "Corbet, and others of the king's judges, in their "places; yet they were so generally odious to the "army as well as to the people, that they could "seize upon their persons, and the very castle of "Dublin, when they should judge it convenient."

Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Brussels, before the king had any assurance or confident hope of the general, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that, if what sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men about the court would have been very solicitous for his majesty's going into Ireland. But his majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the state of affairs very

much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and general Monk's marching towards London, the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coot, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other persons who were presbyterians, and though they had been always against the king, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert, or the rump parliament, and submitted to the orders of general Monk, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the king; and so, by the time that the parliament was to meet at Westminster, all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the general and the parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

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The parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of April; of which the general was returned a member, to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon [d]; sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, who had been a member of the long parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them, till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with that king, and behaved himself so well, that his majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the king's concessions; and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded the house. His election to be speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the king;

The parliament met April 25.

Sir Harbottle Grimstone chosen speaker.

[d] Devon] *MS. adds:* together with Mr. Maurice

BOOK XVI. and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed.

1660. Their first proceedings. They begun chiefly with bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late king. And in these generals they spent the first days[e] of sitting; no man having the courage, how loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the general was of; who could only protect such a proposition from being penal to the person that made it, by the former ordinances of the rump parliament.

May the first, the general acquaints the house of sir J. Greenvil's bringing him a letter from the king. After the general had well surveyed the temper of the house, upon the first of May he came into the house, and told them, "one sir John Greenvil, who "was a servant of the king's, had brought him a "letter from his majesty; which he had in his "hand, but would not presume to open it without "their direction; and that the same gentleman was "at the door, and had a letter to the house;" which was no sooner said, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the king his "master, having been lately with him at Breda, to "deliver that letter to the house:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the sergeant to be delivered to the speaker, he withdrew.

Sir J. Greenvil is called in, and delivers the letter to the house of commons.

Both letters, and the declaration, read. The house immediately called to have both letters read, that to the general, and that to the speaker; which being done, the declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles

[e] first days] first five days

Stuart was no more heard of: and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and though there were some members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the house, nor with the argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a committee to prepare an answer to his majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the house had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his majesty; and that the house would give a speedy answer to his majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered, at the same time, that both his majesty's letters, that to the house, and that to the general, with his majesty's declaration therein enclosed, and the resolution of the house thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

Received with universal joy.

A committee appointed to prepare an answer.

All ordered to be printed.

This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the king, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The lords, when they saw what spirit the house of commons was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but made haste into their house without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from sir John Greenvil which his majesty had directed to them; and they received it with the same duty and acknowledgment. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, were likewise transported with the

Sir John Greenvil delivers the letter to the house of lords.

The lord mayor, &c. receive

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their letter with the same duty: so does the army and fleet.

king's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency; and entered into close deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army and fleet [f], upon the sight of the letters to their generals, and his majesty's declaration, thought themselves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his majesty's restoration; and made those vows, and published such declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their generals caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the general managed the business, which he now owned himself to have undertaken [g], with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.

The committee, who were appointed by the house of commons to prepare an answer to the king's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men, who were well contented that the king should be invited to return: but some thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the treaty ought first to be made with the king, and conditions of security agreed on, before his majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the

[f] and fleet] *Not in MS.*
[g] he now owned himself to have undertaken] he had now undertaken

parliament, had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth, in the time of king Harry the Third, to which the king should be sworn before he came home. Then the presbyterian party, of which there were many members in parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the house threw away all those formalities and affectations: they said, "they had proceeded too far already in their vote upon the receipt of the letter, "to fall back again, and to offend the king with "colder expressions of their duty." In the end, after some days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the house, they were contented to gratify the presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them, and could do the king no prejudice; and all agreed, that this answer should be returned to his majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

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*Most royal sovereign,*

"We your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament, do, with "all humbleness, present unto your majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, for those gracious expressions of piety, and goodness, and love "to us, and the nations under your dominion, which "your Majesty's letter of the 14th of April, dated "from Breda, together with the declaration en-

The answer of the house of commons to the king.

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"closed in it of the same date, do so evidently con-"tain. For which we do, in the first place, look "up to the great King of kings, and bless his name, "who hath put these thoughts into the heart of our "king, to make him glorious in the eyes of his "people; as those great deliverances, which that "divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal per-"son, from many dangers, and the support which "he hath given to your heroic and princely mind "under various trials, make it appear to all the "world that you are precious in his sight. And "give us leave to say, that as your majesty is pleas-"ed to declare your confidence in parliaments, your "esteem of them, and this your judgment, and cha-"racter of them, that they are so necessary for the "government of the kingdom, that neither prince "nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy "without them, and therefore say, that you will "hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their "privileges, and careful to preserve and protect "them; so we trust, and will, with all humility, be "bold to affirm, that your majesty will not be de-"ceived in us, and that we will never depart from "that fidelity which we owe unto your majesty, that "zeal which we bear unto your service, and a con-"stant endeavour to advance your honour and great-"ness.

"And we beseech your majesty, we may add "this farther for the vindication of parliaments, and "even of the last parliament, convened under your "royal father of happy memory, when, as your ma-"jesty well observes, through mistakes, and misun-"derstandings, many inconveniences were produced, "which were not intended, that those very inconve-

"niences could not have been brought upon us by "those persons who had designed them, without "violating the parliament itself. For they well "knew it was not possible to do a violence to that "sacred person, whilst the parliament, which had "vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety "of that person, remained entire. Surely, sir, as "the persons of our kings have ever been dear unto "parliaments, so we cannot think of that horrid act "committed against the precious life of our late "sovereign, but with such a detestation and abhor-"rency, as we want words to express it; and, next "to wishing it had never been, we wish it may "never be remembered by your majesty, to be unto "you an occasion of sorrow, as it will never be re-"membered by us, but with that grief and trouble "of mind which it deserves; being the greatest re-"proach that ever was incurred by any of the Eng-"lish nation, an offence to all the protestant churches "abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth "of religion here at home; though both profession, "and true professors, and the nation itself, as well "as the parliament, were most innocent of it; it "having been only the contrivance and act of some "few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others, "as by their influence were misled. And as we "hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt "of it, nor of all the evil consequences thereof, unto "the land, whose divine justice never involves the "guiltless with the guilty, so we cannot but give "due praise to your majesty's goodness, who are "pleased to entertain such reconciled and reconcil-"ing thoughts, and with them not only meet, but

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" as it were prevent your parliament and people, " proposing yourself in a great measure, and invit- " ing the parliament to consider farther, and advise " your majesty, what may be necessary to restore " the nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the " banks and fences of it, and make the kingdom " happy by the advancement of religion, the secu- " rity of our laws, liberties, and estates, and the re- " moving all jealousies and animosities, which may " render our peace less certain and durable. Where- " in your majesty gives a large evidence of your " great wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high " a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the " very foundations, great care must be had to repair " the breaches, and much circumspection and in- " dustry used to provide things necessary for the " strengthening of those repairs, and preventing " whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

" We shall immediately apply ourselves to the " preparing of these things; and, in a very short " time, we hope to be able to present them to your " majesty; and for the present do, with all humble " thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour " in assuring us of your royal concurrence with us, " and saying, that we shall not expect any thing " from you, but what you will be as ready to give, " as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your " majesty's effectual performance, since your own " princely judgment hath prompted unto you the " necessity of doing such things; and your piety " and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of " them to your faithful parliament. You speak as " a gracious king, and we will do what befits duti-

"ful, loving, and loyal subjects; who are yet more "engaged to honour and highly esteem your ma- "jesty, for your declining, as you were pleased to "say, all foreign assistance, and rather trusting to "your people; who, we do assure your majesty, "will and do open their arms and their hearts to "receive you, and will spare neither their estates, "nor their lives, when your service shall require it "of them. BOOK XVI. 1660.

"And we have yet more cause to enlarge our "praise and our prayers to God for your majesty, "that you have continued unshaken in your faith; "that neither the temptation of allurements, per- "suasions, and promises from seducing papists on "the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage "from some seduced and misguided professors of "the protestant religion on the other hand, could "at all prevail on your majesty, to make you for- "sake the Rock of Israel, the God of your fathers, "and the true protestant religion, in which your "majesty hath been bred; but you have still been "as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with "your and our God, even now expressing your zeal "and affection for the protestant religion, and your "care and study for the propagation thereof. This "hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of "the land, and an assurance to them that God would "not forsake you; but after many trials, which "should but make you more precious, as gold out "of the fire, would restore your majesty unto your "patrimony, and people, with more splendour and "dignity, and make you the glory of kings, and the "joy of your subjects; which is, and shall ever be, "the prayer of your majesty's most loyal subjects,

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"the commons of England assembled in parlia-"ment."

*Which letter was signed by sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker.*

This answer is delivered to sir John Greenvil.

As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, sir John Greenvil was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to the bar, the speaker stood up, and told him, "that they need not acquaint "him with what grateful hearts they had received "his majesty's gracious letter; he himself was an "ear and eye-witness of it: their bells and their "bonfires had already begun the proclamation of "his majesty's goodness, and of their joys; that "they had now prepared an answer to his majesty, "which should be delivered to him; and that they "did not think fit he should return to their royal "sovereign without some testimony of their respects "to himself; and therefore that they had ordered "five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to "buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the "messenger of so gracious a message;" and in the name of the house he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a change was this[h], that a servant of the king's, who, for near ten years together, had been in prisons, and under confinements, only for being the king's servant, and would, but three months before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the king, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. From this time there was such an emulation and impatience in lords, and

[h] So great and sudden a change was this] So blessed a revolution was this

commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.

The lords and the commons now conferred together, how they might with more lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his majesty's return. They remembered, that, upon the murder of the late king, there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his successor; which so terrified the people, that they scarce dared so much[i] as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some solemn proclamation of his majesty's undoubted right to the crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him, which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the lords and commons, the general having concerted all things with the city, met in Westminster-hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the king's letter; and walked into the palace-yard; where they all stood bare, whilst the heralds proclaimed the king. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same;

[i] scarce dared so much] dared not so much

BOOK XVI. 1660. and afterwards at Temple-bar; where the lord mayor, and aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was spent in those acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words:

The king proclaimed May 8.

"Although it can no way be doubted, but that "his majesty's right and title to his crown and "kingdoms is and was every way completed by the "death of his most royal father of glorious memory, "without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclama-"tion; yet, since proclamations in such cases have "been always used, to the end that all good sub-"jects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty "and respect, and since the armed violence, and "other the calamities of many years last past, have "hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, "whereby we might express our loyalty and alle-"giance to his majesty, we therefore, the lords and "commons now assembled in parliament, together "with the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of "the city of London, and other freemen of this "kingdom now present, do, according to our duty "and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously "acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon "the decease of our late sovereign lord king Charles, "the imperial crown of the realm of England, and "of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belong-

"ing to the same, did, by inherent birthright and "lawful undoubted succession, descend and come to "his most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as "being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of "the blood royal of this realm; and that, by the "goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is "of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the "most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and "thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do sub- "mit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterity "for ever."

Many addresses to the king.

From the time that the king came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the king, and were now as solicitous his majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. Even before the general had declared himself, or the parliament was assembled, some, who had sat judges upon his father, sent many excuses, that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services, if they might obtain their pardon. But his majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any propositions made on their behalf.

The particular case of Ingoldsby.

There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of colonel Ingoldsby; who was in the number of the late king's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder. He, from the deposal of Richard, had declared, that he would serve the king, and told Mr. Mordaunt, "that he "would perform all services he could, without mak- "ing any conditions; and would be well content, "that his majesty, when he came home, should take

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He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the king; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel, but his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the painted chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sat upon the king, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the king's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, "though "he had escaped him all the while before, he should "now sign that paper as well as they;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, "he knew nothing of the business;" and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, "if his name there were compared with

"what he had ever writ himself, it could never be "looked upon as his own hand."

Though his majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon; presuming that, if all these allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of that bloody list[k], which he resolved never to pardon. Nor was Ingoldsby at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, (where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition,) and put out that governor whom the rump had put in; and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered.

Mountague's message to the king.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the king, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days,) he would be himself on board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his majesty's orders: this was before the parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the king had any assurance of the general, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have

[k] that bloody list] those classes

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facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his majesty.

The frequent resort of persons to Brussels, before they knew of the king's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his majesty's servants, and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think, that the king's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the king's remove to Breda than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his majesty to remain in their dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the king, and that he had stayed longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the marquis of Carracena sent a person of prime quality to Breda, "to "invite his majesty to return to Brussels; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful "propositions from England, to which he was not "willing to make any answer, without receiving his "majesty's approbation and command."

The marquis of Carracena invites the king back to Brussels.

The king sent him word, "that he was obliged, "with reference to his business in England, to stay "where he was; and that he was not without hope "that his affairs might succeed so well, that he "should not be necessitated to return to Brussels at "all." Which answer the marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation "for the indignity that would

The king's answer.

The marquis invites the king again, but in vain.

"be offered to his catholic majesty, if he should leave "his dominions in such a manner; and therefore "besought him, either to return himself thither, or "that the duke of York, and the duke of Glouces- "ter, or at least one of them, might come to Brus- "sels, that the world might not believe, that his "majesty was offended with the catholic king; who "had treated him so well." When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the king and both the dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his catholic majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the marquis himself, he revenged himself upon don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, "for his "stupidity and ignorance in the affairs of England, "and of every thing relating thereunto, after hav- "ing resided sixteen years ambassador in that king- "dom."

Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that Monk had other intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the king was removed from Brussels to Breda, he presently persuaded the queen mother of England to send the lord Jermyn (whom the king had lately, upon his mother's desire, created earl of St. Alban's) to invite the king "to come into France; "and to make that treaty, which, probably, would "be between the ensuing parliament and his ma- "jesty, in that kingdom; which might prove of "great use and advantage to her majesty's interest "and honour; in which the power of the cardinal

Cardinal Mazarine persuades the queen mother of England to send the lord Jermyn to invite the king to come into France.

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"might be of great importance in diverting or al-"laying any insolent demands which might be "made." And the cardinal himself made the same invitation by that lord, with professions of wonderful kindness; and "that the most Christian king "was infinitely desirous to perform all those offices "and respects to his majesty, which he had always "desired, but was never able to accomplish till "now;" with this addition, "that if his majesty "found that the expedition of his affairs would not "permit him to come to Paris, order and prepara-"tions should be made for his reception at Calais, "or any other place he would appoint; where the "queen his mother would attend him;" with all other expressions of the highest esteem; which the cunning[1] of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

The king's answer.

The earl of St. Alban's found the king in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the instances he brought; and was contented to return with the king's acknowledgments and excuse, "that he could "not decently pass through Flanders, after he had "refused to return to Brussels; and without going "through those provinces, he could not well make "a journey into France." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the ministers of these two great kings, to enter into their dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the

[1] cunning] sagacity

other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

Several persons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cologne and to Brussels, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the king; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the king, that their names, and the names of their friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed. and ought not to be remembered. By these supplies his majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board-wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the king's letter by the general to the parliament.

The States General congratulate the king's coming to Breda; and the States of Holland invite him to the Hague.

The king had not been many days in Breda, before the States General sent deputies of their own body to congratulate his majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his majesty, "that he would grace that "province with his royal presence at the Hague, "where preparations should be made for his recep-

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"tion, in such a manner as would testify the great "joy of their hearts for the blessings which divine "Providence was pouring upon his head." His majesty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with presents, and protestations, "how much they had longed and prayed for this "blessed change; and magnifying their sufferings "under the late tyrannical government;" when some of them had been zealous instruments and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the king, by using all civilities towards, and providing for the accommodation of the multitude of his subjects, who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their yachts and other vessels, for the accommodation of his majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the king, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place in the beginning of May, and, within an hour, embarked themselves on board the yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which

The king removes to the Hague.

they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways, which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy, as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

The king's reception and entertainment there.

The entrance into the Hague, and the reception there, and the conducting his majesty to the house provided for his entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that state. The treatment of his majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body apart, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his majesty's commands. All the ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his behalf: so that a man would have thought this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The king had been very few days at the Hague,

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The English fleet comes on the coast of Holland.

when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Scheveling; and shortly after, an officer from admiral Mountague was sent to the king, to present his duty to him, and to the duke of York, their high admiral, to receive orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found Lawson and the other officers[m] more frank in declaring their duty to the king, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the parliament to his majesty, but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The duke of York as admiral takes possession of the fleet.

The duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take possession of his command; where he was received by all the officers and seamen, with all possible duty and submission, and with those acclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his highness returned with it that night to the king, that his majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of the late governors, and of the republic.

The ships new named.

The committee of

Shortly after, the committee of lords and com-

[m] Lawson and the other officers] those officers

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Lords and commons arrive at the Hague.

mons arrived at the Hague; where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. From the house of peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the commons. The peers were, the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, the lord viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the lord Brook. From the commons were sent, the lord Fairfax, the lord Bruce, the lord Falkland, the lord Castleton, the lord Herbert, the lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, sir Horatio Townsend, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, sir George Booth, sir John Holland, and sir Henry Cholmeley. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the parliament, "that "his majesty would be pleased to return, and take "the government of the kingdom into his hands; "where he should find all possible affection, duty, "and obedience, from all his subjects." And lest his return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the parliament the sum of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Gloucester; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. The king treated all the committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that

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they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

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The city of London send fourteen of their citizens.

The city of London had had too great a hand in driving the father of the king from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most substantial citizens "to assure his "majesty of their fidelity, and most cheerful sub-"mission; and that they placed all their felicity, "and hope of future prosperity, in the assurance of "his majesty's grace and protection; for the merit-"ing whereof, their lives and fortunes should be al-"ways at his majesty's disposal;" and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The king told them, "he had always "had a particular affection for the city of London, "the place of his birth; and was very glad, that "they had now so good a part in his restoration; "of which he was informed; and how much he "was beholding to every one of them;" for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this money presented to the king by the parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London, who came to the king, went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But

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this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the king, that it is not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money; the custom of that country, which flourishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignations; they having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

Divers presbyterian divines came also.

With these commissioners[n] from the parliament and from the city, there came a company of their clergymen, to the number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton; and others, the most eminent of the presbyterians,) desired to be thought to represent that party. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a formal audience of his majesty; where they presented their duties, and magnified the affections of themselves and their friends; who, they said, "had always, according to "the obligation of their covenant, wished his ma- "jesty very well; and had lately, upon the oppor- "tunity that God had put into their hands, informed "the people of their duty; which, they presumed,

Their public audience of the king.

[n] commissioners] committees

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"his majesty had heard had proved effectual, and "been of great use to him." They thanked God "for his constancy to the protestant religion;" and professed, "that they were no enemies to moderate "episcopacy; only desired that such things might "not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which "in their judgment who used them were acknow-"ledged to be matters indifferent, and by others "were held unlawful."

The king spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards "him; and that he had no purpose to impose hard "conditions upon them, with reference to their con-"sciences: that they well knew, he had referred "the settling all differences of that nature to the "wisdom of the parliament; which best knew what "indulgence and toleration was necessary for the "peace and quiet of the kingdom." But his majesty could not be so rid of them; they desired several private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, "the Book of Com-"mon Prayer had been long discontinued in Eng-"land, and the people having been disused to it, "and many of them having never heard it in their "lives, it would be much wondered at, if his ma-"jesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, "revive the use of it in his own chapel; whither "all persons would resort; and therefore they be-"sought him, that he would not use it entirely and "formally, but have only some parts of it read, with "mixture of other good prayers, which his chap-"lains might use."

And their private discourses also with him.

His majesty's reply to them.

The king told them with some warmth, "that "whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have

"his own taken from him: that he had always "used that form of service, which he thought the "best in the world, and had never discontinued it "in places where it was more disliked than he "hoped it was by them: that, when he came into "England, he would not severely inquire how it "was used in other churches, though he doubted "not, he should find it used in many; but he was "sure he would have no other used in his own "chapel." Then they besought him with more importunity, "that the use of the surplice might be "discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of "it would give great offence and scandal to the "people." They found the king as inexorable in that point as in the other; he told them plainly, "that he would not be restrained himself, when he "gave others so much liberty; that it had been al-"ways held a decent habit in the church, constantly "practised in England till these late ill times; that "it had been still retained by him; and though he "was bound for the present to tolerate much dis-"order and undecency in the exercise of God's wor-"ship, he would never, in the least degree, by his "own practice, discountenance the good old order "of the church, in which he had been bred." Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased further troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several

BOOK XVI. rich presents made to his majesty, the king took his leave of the States, with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved; and embarked himself on the Royal Charles [o]; which had been before called the Naseby [p], but had been new christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order, of his royal highness the admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of May, the fleet set sail; and, in one continued thunder of cannon, arrived near Dover so early on the six and twentieth, that his majesty disembarked; and being received by the general at the brink of the sea, (whom he met, and embraced, with great demonstrations of affection,) [q] he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury; where he stayed the next day, being Sunday; and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other persons of quality, to present themselves to the king; and there his majesty assembled his council; and swore the general of the council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the signet, and swore him secretary of state. That day his majesty gave the garter to the general, and likewise to the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before,) and sent it likewise by garter, herald and king at arms, to admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

1660. The king embarks for England.

And the fleet sets sail May 24.

The king arrives and lands at Dover May 26, and went to Canterbury that night.

On Monday he went to Rochester; and the next

[o] the Royal Charles] the Prince

[p] Naseby] Protector

[q] (whom he met, and embraced, with great demonstrations of affection,)] *Not in MS.*

day, being the nine and twentieth of May, and his birthday, he entered London; all the ways thither being so full of people, and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered there. Between Deptford and Southwark the lord mayor and aldermen met him, with all such protestations of joy as can hardly be imagined. The concourse was so great, that the king rode in a crowd from the bridge to Whitehall; all the companies of the city standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his majesty's presence. He no sooner came to Whitehall, but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault he had "been absent so long; for he saw nobody that did "not protest, he had ever wished for his return."

1660. May 29, he came through the city to Whitehall.

Where the two houses waited on him.

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible[r] expedition, did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and the sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world, could be instruments[s] of; almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

The conclusion of the whole history.

[t] It was but five months, since Lambert's fanatical army was scattered and confounded, and general Monk's marched into England: it was but three

[r] incredible] miraculous
[s] instruments] ministers
[t] It was but five months,— called the convention, p. 506, l. 6. Not in MS.

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months, since the secluded members were restored; and, shortly after, the monstrous long parliament finally dissolved, and rooted up: it was but a month, since the king's letters and declaration were delivered to the new parliament, afterwards called the convention:[t] on the first of May they were delivered, and his majesty was at Whitehall on the 29th of the same month.

By these remarkable steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only[u] bind up and heal all those wounds, but even[x] make the scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the deliverance.[y] And, after this miraculous restoration of the crown, and the church, and the just rights of parliaments, no nation under heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add establishment and perpetuity to the blessings he then restored.

[u] in this short space of time, not only] in one month

[x] but even] and

[y] which was a glorious addition to the deliverance.] *Thus in MS.:* And if there wanted more glorious monuments of this deliverance, posterity would know the time of it, by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, who both died within three or four months, with the wonder if not the agony of this undreamed of prosperity; and as if they had taken it ill that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without their concurrence, and against all their machinations.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

# BISHOP WARBURTON'S

# NOTES

ON

# LORD CLARENDON'S

# HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

# BISHOP WARBURTON'S NOTES.

## VOL. I.

P. 5. l. 9. in which I shall preserve myself from the least sharpness, that may proceed from *private provocation.*] This he generously verified in the case of his mortal enemy the lord Digby, whenever he becomes the subject of his discourse.

P. 6. l. 9. and the *unpolished integrity* of others.] Laud.

P. 7. l. 28. And here I cannot but *let myself loose to say:*] As if he were speaking against his duty, when he censured the crown.

P. 8. l. 11. In which the king had always the disadvantage to harbour persons about him, &c.] It is plain then the king had indeed evil counsellors about him, as his enemies suggested, though apparently not those whom they designed by that title.

P. 8. l. 26. those ends being only discredited by the jealousies the people entertained from the *manner of the prosecution, that they were other, and worse than in truth they were.*] His meaning is apparently this; The people questioned (as well they might) whether he had their happiness in view, since he prosecuted that pretence by means very unjustifiable, namely, encroachments on the people's rights. The historian supposes the king had indeed that public end in view; and so do I.

P. 9. l. 7. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice of some of the ministers, in those intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the *warmth and vivacity of those meetings.*] This is a very honest declaration and confession of the arbitrary proceedings of the court.

P. 9. l. 24. And could it be imagined, that those men

would meet again in a free convention of parliament, without a sharp and severe expostulation, and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed upon that right?] In other words, the people long bore, with patience, a tyrannical invasion of their rights.

P. 10. l. 7. The abrupt and *unkind* breaking off the two first parliaments.] A softer word for injurious.

P. 10. l. ult. I wonder less at the errors of this nature in the duke of Buckingham; who, having had a most *generous education* in courts, &c.] i. e. been received there on his very first appearance on the footing of a minion. A strange paraphrasis.

P. 11. l. 5. in the space of a few weeks, *without any visible cause intervening*.] How could the historian say that, when the visible cause was, the parliament's detecting the numerous falsehoods with which the duke imposed upon them at the conference concerning the Spanish match?

P. 11. l. 22. But that the other, the lord Weston, who had been very much and very popularly conversant in those conventions, who exactly knew the frame and *constitution* of the kingdom.] A confession that both of them violated the constitution, though not with equal knowledge.

P. 12. l. 10. There is a protection very gracious and just, which princes owe to their servants, when, in obedience to their just commands, upon extraordinary and *necessary* occasions, in the execution of their trusts, they swerve from the strict letter of the law, which, without that mercy, would be penal to them.] As for instance, during a hostile invasion of this country, the general's quartering his soldiers in private houses, marching through enclosures, &c.

P. 15. l. 19. For the better taking this prospect, we will begin with a survey of the person of that great man, the duke of Buckingham, (who was so barbarously murdered about this time,) whose influence had been unfortunate *in* the public affairs, and whose death produced a change in all the counsels.] He would not say *to*, because that would imply a hurtful, baleful influence; *in*, only an unsuccessful influence.

P. 20. l. 4. it is not to be doubted, but that he would have *withdrawn his affection* from the duke entirely, before his death.] So that it appears he *was weary of his favourite*, at least, though he had not courage to deprive him of his power; yet even this the historian tells us he projected. See page 39. of this volume.

P. 34. l. 9. so that the prince and duke should afterwards, to one or both houses, as occasion should be offered, make a relation of what had passed in Spain, *especially concerning the palatinate.*] It is certain that both James, and his son after him, (as appears by the Clarendon State Papers,) had suffered themselves to be most egregiously duped throughout the whole course of that long and ignominious negociation, by that most perfidious court of Spain. Had the difficulty of the father and son arisen from the necessity, if they would force Spain to leave off trifling, and do them justice, of joining France against them at a time when the political balance of Europe was greatly turned in favour of France, their backwardness had been commendable and noble. But it appears from the State Papers, that as it was in James the love of what he called peace, so in Charles it was the dread of a parliament.

P. 34. l. 29. *likewise*] likely.

P. 40. l. penult. which *breach upon his kingly power* was so much without a precedent, (except one unhappy one made three years before, to gratify likewise a private displeasure,) that the like had not been practised in very many years.] Is it a proof that the impeachment of a minister is a breach of the royal power, because not practised of very many years?

P. 45. l. 28. the same men who had called him our saviour, for bringing the prince safe out of Spain, called him now the corrupter of the king, and betrayer of the liberties of the people, without imputing the *least crime* to him, to have been committed since the time of that exalted adulation, or that was not then as much known to them, as it could be now.] They did not then know how he had im-

posed upon them in his false narrative. His other misdemeanours indeed they did know as well then as afterwards.

P. 46. l. 21. And many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage were *committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money required by those extraordinary ways.*] If this was not tyranny, I do not know what is.

P. 60. l. 27. His single misfortune was, (which indeed was productive of many greater,) that he *never made* a noble and a worthy friendship with a man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions.] This is a mistake; it appears from the letters that passed between him and Bacon, that he had the chancellor for his friend, who gave him much good advice, and was at length ruined by urging it too vehemently, against the alliance between the duke's brother and Cook's daughter.

P. 63. l. 6. in a time when the crown was so poor, and the people more inclined to a *bold* inquiry, how it came to be so, than *dutiful* to provide for its supply.] But was there not more of *duty* than *boldness* in the people's representatives, to inquire how that power came to be poor?

P. 67. l. 26. he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, *a lady of very sublime quality,* and to pursue it with most importunate addresses.] Anne of Austria, queen of France.

P. 68. l. 21. and the more notorious their king's displeasure was towards them.] Duke d'Espernon and the duchess of Chevreuse.

P. 73. l. 5. And it cannot be denied, that from these two wars so wretchedly entered into, and the circumstances before mentioned, and which flowed from thence, the duke's ruin took its date; and never left pursuing him, till that execrable act upon his person; the malice whereof was contracted by that sole *evil spirit* of the time, without any partner in the conspiracy.] Why *evil spirit*, to endeavour

by legal ways to overthrow a minister, the most debauched, the most unable, and the most tyrannical that ever was?

P. 73. l. 16. under which it had enjoyed *a greater measure of felicity*, than any nation was ever possessed of.] This fallacy runs through the whole history. The subjects were not to vindicate their rights and liberty overturned, because that either by the less tyrannical exercise of arbitrary power, or by the excellent frame of even an oppressed constitution, or by the lucky conjunctures of the times, England then enjoyed *a very great measure of felicity*.

P. 78. l. 29. And the countess herself was, at the duke's leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable.] If there was any truth in the officer of Windsor's going to the duke on this errand, it appears plainly to me to be an imposition on the officer by the duke's mother, who regaled the poor man with the apparition and the secret. The duke confessing that one more knew of it besides himself; who seems to be the mother, from the duke's going to her in a rage, as suspicious of the contrivance, and her being found on his leaving her *overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony*, as being detected.

P. 81. l. 13. who, though a man of good *scholastic* learning.] By *scholastic learning*, the historian means learning in the bishop's own profession.

P. 81. l. 29. And he himself had use of all his strength and skill (as he was an excellent wrestler in this kind) to preserve himself from falling, in two shocks.] That is, in the defensive only, as appears by what is said of him, p. 82.

P. 82. l. 5. He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom; and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the *law, at least equally with any man* who had ever sat in that place; but had *a clear conception of the whole policy* of the government *both of church and state*, which, by the unskilfulness of some well-meaning men, justled each other too much.] Yet of this lord Coventry, Whitelock says, "he was of no transcendent parts or fame." Which will

you believe? Here party was not concerned: certainly Hyde was a better judge of a man's *parts*, if not of his law.

P. 83. l. 8. He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange *power of making himself believed*, the only justifiable design of eloquence.] i. e. convincing men that those were his sentiments, which he professed and truly to be so, and that they were sentiments to be followed.

P. 90. l. 16. that the king was pleased twice to pay his debts; at least, towards it, to disburse *forty thousand pounds* in ready money out of his exchequer.] I suppose the historian here may refer to the paper now in the first volume of the Clarendon State Papers, p. 30. 8vo. by which it appears, by an acknowledgment under the king's hand, that he had allowed this treasurer to receive to his own use certain sums, partly from the exchequer, and partly from particulars, for royal favours, 44,500*l.* This was in the year 1634.

P. 97. l. 23. and he did too frequently gratify their unjustifiable designs and pretences: *a guilt and mischief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be so, are liable to, and can hardly preserve themselves from.*] i. e. men, of whom the crown may take advantage for their misdemeanours, are compelled, when called upon, to do their dirty jobs.

P. 98. l. 10. conversing little with any who were in common conversation.] i. e. much in the world.

P. 99. l. 8. he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent *statues*, whilst he was in Italy and in Rome.] And the Marmora Arundeliana now at Oxford.

P. 99. l. 12. had a rare collection of the most curious medals.] And engraved gems of all kinds.

P. 105. l. 11. He pretended to no other qualifications, than to understand horses and dogs very well.] Whyte, sir Robert Sydney's agent, speaking of this person when he first went to court in 1600, in queen Elizabeth's time, says, "Mr. "Philip Harbert is here, and one of the forwardest courtiers "I ever saw in my time; for he had not been here four

"hours, but he grew as bold as the best. Upon Tuesday "he goes back again, full sore against his will." Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 190.

P. 117. l. 19. To which end the most proper expedients were best understood by them, not to enlarge *it*, by continuing and propagating the war.] *Poverty* of the crown, ungrammatical.

P. 118. l. 1. And after some unquietness of the people, and unhappy assaults upon the prerogative by the parliament.] He means what the court called prerogative.

P. 118. l. 5. there quickly followed so excellent a composure throughout the whole kingdom, that the like peace, and plenty, and universal *tranquillity* for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation.] Or rather *torpor*, arising from the desperate state into which the liberty of the people was fallen.

P. 118. l. 17. That proclamation, mentioned before, at the breaking up of the last parliament, and which was commonly understood "to inhibit all men to speak of another "parliament," produced two very ill effects of different natures.] That this interpretation of the proclamation concerning parliaments, that the king intended that the people should think no more of them than he did, appears plainly from the following fact. In the year 1633, the king agreed upon a draught (which was by his direction drawn up by his ministers) of a circular letter for a voluntary contribution to the support of the queen of Bohemia and her children; which, to put the people in better humour, concluded with these words; "After our having so long forborne to demand any of "them [the people] for foreign affairs; assuring them, that as "the largeness of their free gift will be a clear evidence to us "of the measure of their affection towards us, which we es"teem our greatest happiness, so their forwardness to assist "us in this kind, *shall not make us more backward to require "their aid in another way, no less agreeable to us than to "them, when the season shall be proper for it.*" This paragraph the king struck out of the draught; and with his own hand hath added these words; *I have scored out these eight*

*lines, as not judging them fit to pass.* See the Clarendon collection of State Papers, vol. i. 8vo. published 1767, p. 113.

P. 118. l. penult. that there was *really an intention* to alter the form of government, both in church and state.] Was there not? this is strange; for what follows (in the next page) shews that this intention was verified by practice.

P. 119. l. 4. Then, this freedom from the danger of such an inquisition did not only encourage *ill men* to all boldness and licence.] i. e. courtiers of corrupt principles.

P. 119. l. 9. especially if they found themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, and feared not *extraordinary*, they by degrees thought that no fault which was like to find no punishment.] i. e. parliamentary.

P. 119. l. 19. obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the *subject might be taught* how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own.] i. e. it was the declared purpose of the court to teach him.

P. 119. l. 24. By this ill husbandry the king received a vast sum of money from all persons of quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which, though it had *a foundation in right*, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous. And *no less unjust projects* of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men.] i. e. it was countenanced by old practice, now (from the reason of things) obsolete and out of use, which the author insinuates in the next sentence.

P. 127. l. 28. instances of *power qnd sovereignty* upon the liberty and property of the subject.] i. e. invasion.

P. 131. l. 12. Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be accused of much *flattery* in this inquisition.)] Certainly not *flattery*, but much prejudice, insensibly arising out of an honest gratitude towards the princes by whom he rose.

P. 131. l. 21. enjoyed the greatest calm, and the *fullest*

*measure of felicity*, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with.] See what is said on this head of felicity in a former note; p. 513.

P. 132. l. 6. and besides the blemish of an unparalleled act of blood upon the life of a crowned neighbour queen and ally) the fear and apprehension of what was to come (which is one of the most unpleasant kinds of melancholy) from an unknown, at least an unacknowledged, successor to the crown, clouded much of that prosperity then, which now shines with so much splendour before our eyes in chronicle.] But the historian should not have forgot the struggles she had to wrestle with, and which by a superior policy she so glorious overcame, not only laid the foundation of, but indeed produced all that *felicity* which the historian so much boasts of under her successors, and which their perverse policy with some difficulty at length destroyed.

P. 134. l. 11. When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned, it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, &c.] Considering all that the author has confessed of the attempts towards arbitrary [power], it is so far from being a wonder that a rich and happy people should not be disposed to sit down contented under those attempts, that it would have been a wonder if they should; since a people under those favourable circumstances only are disposed and enabled to vindicate *endangered liberty*.

P. 135. l. 13. and it may be, this consideration might not be the *least motive, and may not be the worst excuse for those counsels*.] Machiavel never made a juster or profounder observation.

P. 135. l. 26. In a word, many wise men thought it a time, wherein those two adjuncts, which Nerva was deified for uniting, *imperium et libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.] This is perfectly astonishing to all who consider what went just before; and would make one suspect this to be a spurious addition.

P. 136. l. 9. every man more *troubled and perplexed at that they called the violation of one law, than delighted or pleased with the observation of all the rest of the charter*.]

And with reason. The historian confesses that the *violation of this one law* was supported in the courts of justice by *a logic*, (as he expresses it,) *which left no man any thing which he might call his own;* p. 122. of this volume. So how could they be pleased with what was left, not *by observation of the rest of the charter*, as he represents it, but by a precarious suspension of the violation.

P. 136. l. 22. whilst the indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the wisdom, sobriety, and devotion of a hundred.] And with reason, because that *one sermon* was supported, cried up, and adopted by the court, while the hundred were neglected and discountenanced.

P. 137. l. 2. that if the sermons of those times preached in court were collected together, and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox divinity.] We can see nothing of this character in the sermons then and there preached and published, which are not a few; on the contrary, they are full of pedantry and quibble.

P. 137. l. 9. And I cannot but say, for the honour of the king,—there was not one churchman, in any degree of favour,—of a scandalous insufficiency in learning.] True.

P. 137. l. 22. like *pride* in some, and like *petulance* in *others.*] Laud and Wren.

P. 137. l. 27. an *ample recompense.*] Not true.

P. 138. l. 3. against which no kingdom in Christendom, in the constitution of its government, in the solidity of the laws, and *in the nature and disposition of the people, was more secure than England.*] Is not this a strong presumption that the court had administered sufficient cause for the discontents which followed?

P. 143. note y. as they are equal promoters, &c.] This is very obscure, but the sense of the whole period is this: It was thought fit to discountenance those who for the sake of popularity spoke in parliament what was ungrateful to the king. But the discountenance being supposed to proceed from the advice of Hamilton, the *discountenance* was of service to them, and made them more bold. Besides, they had

art to shift from themselves the imputation of all that discountenance, which they were unwilling to own was levelled at themselves. As on the other hand, when they could get any thing by the imputation of that *discountenance*, they were as dexterous in owning it, and proclaiming to all that it was so directed.

P. 146. l. 7. The king his son, who, with his father's other virtues.] The son had real virtues; the father had none.

P. 146. l. 21. to accomplish which he was no *less solicitous* than the king himself, nor the king the *less solicitous* for his advice.] i. e. they encouraged and inflamed one another in their ill-timed and indiscreet zeal.

P. 148. l. 28. *whose satisfaction was not to be laboured for.*] Certainly it was in indifferent matters, or St. Paul was much mistaken.

P. 150. l. 8. that the exception and advice proceeded from the *pride* of their own hearts.] A very generous pride, arising, as he owns it did, from the jealousy of a *dependency.*

P. 150. l. 19. they would with more *confidence, though less reason,* frame other exceptions, and insist upon them with more obstinacy.] He speaks of the church of Scotland as schismatics from the church of England; which was by no means the case. They were not pleading for indulgence from an established church; but were themselves the established church, and debated about some projected alterations in worship and ceremonies.

P. 152. l. 16. *this opinion.*] It is of little significancy to the public whether the A. B. was in this sincere or not; it is of the greatest importance to it that such opinions should be discouraged, and the authors of the actions consequent thereon punished.

P. 152. l. 18. for the *good and honour of the state.*] It is true he projected the advancing both by the same means, despotic power in the governors of both. What he thought of the state is seen from a very remarkable observation he makes of the king's giving up Strafford, in the History of

his Life and Troubles, p. 178. Speaking of this latter he says, "He served a prince who knew not how to be, or be "made great;" an observation that does as much honour to his penetration, as dishonour to his principles.

P. 156. l. 9. and had too great a *jurisdiction* over the church.] It is here used for credit, interest, or popularity.

P. 157. l. 20. and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and *solid study of divinity.*] I doubt he means the *divinity of the schools*, which some churchmen whom he most reverenced had too high an opinion of.

P. 158. l. 8. by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university, which was *indeed according to the doctrine of the church of England.*] The historian means *Arminianism.*

P. 159. l. 13. the *greatest* of which was.] How could the historian say this was the greatest, when in the very next page he owns that Laud was *vindictive* and *unjust.*

P. 160. l. 5. and a scholar of the *most sublime parts.*] He does not appear to be so by the history which he wrote in the Tower, of his trial and sufferings, though it surely deserves not the despicable character which Burnet has given of it.

P. 160. l. 18. the duke of Buckingham, who had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, *nothing to his satisfaction.* Ibid. line 29. he retained *too keen a memory* of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before. P. 161. l. 4. so he entertained *too* much prejudice, &c.] Without doubt these were an impracticable people; yet I am afraid the chief disgust that Buckingham took to them, after having courted them, arose from their not being found tractable to his schemes of arbitrary power.

P. 163. l. 3. and the *murmur and discontent* that was, *appeared to be against the excess of power exercised by the crown, and supported by the judges in Westminster-hall.*] As if this were a slight matter, when indeed all was at stake.

P. 163. l. 11. and the *cause* of so prodigious a change.] He plainly means the conduct of the archbishop.

P. 163. l. 13. The archbishop's heart was set upon the *advancement of the church.*] An equivocal expression; but it here means an accession of temporal grandeur.

P. 163. l. 22. and were *very averse* from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called innovation.] The mind of man is naturally framed to this aversion.

P. 164. l. 31. most of the popular preachers, who had not looked into the *ancient learning.*] Ancient or modern learning were equally favourable or disfavourable to this doctrinal point, just as the controversialist was disposed to the *pro* or *con.*

P. 165. l. 19. as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the *king*, the *church*, or his country.] This is true; but then he was for an arbitrary *king*, and an intolerant *church.*

P. 165. l. 24. *He did court persons too little.*] He was rude, and brutal to all suitors, as appears from the historian's own account in his own life lately published. This ecclesiastical minister, who was as inferior in politics to cardinal Richelieu as he was superior in theology, could not comprehend an important truth, which Richelieu had learned, when he said, that "if he had not spent as much time "in civilities as in business, he had undone his master."

P. 166. l. 13. upon the *fame* of their incontinence.] A species of proof now, with reason, thought iniquitous.

•P. 171. l. 7. He published a discourse.] *Holy Altar, name, and thing.*

P. 171. l. 11. *though it abounded with too many light expressions.*] The truth is, it is written with a great deal of wit and satire, which the historian calls *light expressions.* But surely these were not misplaced on a subject which the historian in the foregoing page confesses to be light and trivial.

P. 171. l. ult. *men whose names were not much reverenced.*] Heylin.

P. 174. l. 6. who knew well how to recompense *discourtesies.*] A *discourtesy* is certainly an injury; but the historian by that word here means *refusal of a favour.*

P. 174. l. 9. The revenue of too many of the court consisted principally in *enclosures*. Ibid. l. 15. And so he did a little too much countenance the commission concerning *depopulation*.] *Inclosures* make *depopulations* in villages, which, when the hands, no longer employed in agriculture, cannot find employment in manufactures, is certainly injurious to the public; when they can, it is as certainly beneficial. In sir Thomas More's time (that great enemy to *inclosures*) the depopulation was hurtful, but in Laud's it was useful to the public.

P. 175. l. 18. This inflamed more men than were angry before.] The resentment of the nobility on this occasion was surely most legitimate and reasonable.

P. 175. l. 28. In the mean time the archbishop himself was *infinitely pleased with what was done*.] This appears from his Journal; on whose authority, I suppose, it is, that the historian makes the observation.

P. 176. l. 16. and then drive him into choler, &c.] A fine picture of a well-trained courtier.

P. 187. l. 20. *in believing the pope to be Antichrist*.] This was never the court doctrine indeed; yet it was certainly *a great part of the religion* of the reformed, when the separation from Rome was made, to believe *that the pope was Antichrist*.

P. 188. l. 18. Some of the said canons defined and determined such an unlimited *power and prerogative to be in the king, according to the pattern* (in express terms) *of the kings of Israel*.] The kings of Israel were *despotic*; was it only a surprise or suspicion therefore that the king aimed at arbitrary power?

P. 189. l. 5. *thwarted their laws and customs*.] It thwarted the natural and civil rights of all communities, and was rank priestcraft.

P. 189. l. 29. and *too much nourishment*.] Strange he should think *despotism* and *priestcraft* any *nourishment* at all to the state, or even the church.

P. 190. l. 9. to mention any practice of *confession*, (which they looked upon as the strongest and most *inseparable*

*limb* of Antichrist,) and to enjoin, that no presbyter should *reveal any thing he should receive in confession.*] And is it not a limb of popery!

P. 190. l. 28. with all the *artifices* which administer jealousies of all kinds to those who are liable to be disquieted with them.] There needed no great artifice to do all this.

P. 202. l. 8. and was *capable from that hour of any impression the king would have fixed upon him.*] A plain reproof of the court for not *fixing that impression.*

P. 204. l. 31. which *remissness, to call it no worse.*] Which he might fairly have done.

P. 205. l. 10. which proceeded from the *excellency of his nature, and his tenderness of blood.*] It proceeded neither from *tenderness of blood*, nor *excellency of nature*, but incapacity to prosecute any great enterprise. Laud knew the king better, when he said, *He knew not how to be, nor to be made great.*

P. 214. l. 27. yet there was *almost a general dislike to the war, both by the lords of the court and of the country;* and they took this opportunity to communicate their murmurs to each other; *none of the persons who were most maligned for their power and interest* with the king being upon the place.] i. e. almost all the nobility of England, Laud and Strafford, and their creatures, being absent, had a dislike of this war. What possibly could occasion so general a dislike, when the Scottish nation was as generally hated, but their belief that the king intended to govern arbitrarily; and nothing could so facilitate that project as his conquest of Scotland. Hence their dislike of this expedition.

P. 216. l. 16. *who loved the church well enough as it was twenty years before; and understood nothing that had been done in Scotland.*] This shews that if he wanted *parts*, he neither wanted *honesty* nor *prudence*.

P. 217. l. 10. *till after the pacification was concluded.*] A stronger instance of the king's want of real abilities for government cannot be conceived, than his not securing Essex to his interest, which was so easy to be done. So far from

that, as we see in the next page, though infinitely deserving, and singularly so throughout this whole affair, he was dismissed in the crowd; and soon after greatly affronted by the denial of a very natural and reasonable request.

P. 220. l. 18. all which wrought very much upon his high *nature.*] It would have wrought upon any nature.

P. 221. l. 17. *The earl of Holland.*] A very worthless courtier raised by the queen.

P. 222. l. 23. which afterwards produced *many sad disasters.*] Meaning Vane's minutes of the council-board, produced by his son to the destruction of Strafford.

P. 224. l. 9. they made no longer scruple to *impose what money* they thought *fit.*] This was repaying the king in his own coin. He raised money in England without the consent of the people, and in Scotland the people raised money without his consent.

P. 228. l. 10. and the *necessity* that required it.] Here again the Scots paid the king in his own coin, pleading *necessity* to act against law, just as he had done in England.

P. 229. l. 16. and that the *strongest remedies* must be provided to root out this mischief.] If you will believe some anecdotes published by Dr. Birch, the king had determined to strike off Lowden's head in the Tower, without any form of process against him whatsoever.

P. 230. l. 8. and such as loved the *peace and plenty* they were possessed of.] That is, it was believed at court, that this *peace and plenty* would make men overlook the present dangerous state of that *liberty* which only could make their peace and plenty of any stability; but in this the courtiers were deceived.

P. 231. l. 4. it proceeded in all respects in the same *unpopular* ways it had done: ship-money was levied with the same severity; and the same *rigour* used in ecclesiastical courts, without the least compliance with the *humour* of any man.] *Unpopular* for *unlawful*, as *rigour* for *persecution;* and to dislike these *unpopular ways* and *rigorous proceedings*, is called *humour.*

P. 231. l. 20. when very *few other men in any high trust were so.*] Because the keeper observed law, and the ministers violated it.

P. 232. l. 5. These *digressions* have taken up too much time.] What digressions? There are none here. This would make me suspect that something is here omitted.

P. 235. l. 1. summing up shortly, and sharply, all that most reflected upon the *prudence and the justice* of the government.] This was very artful; it was shewing his friends that a government so *imprudent* might be safely attacked for its injustices; and that they had nothing to fear from the *abilities* of those ministers whose exorbitances it was so necessary now to curb and control.

P. 235. l. 18. in which he *then* excelled.] He afterwards lost this quality by overusing it. See what the historian says of him in his Life.

P. 236. l. 23. *Though the parliament had not sat above six or seven days, and had managed all their debates, and their whole behaviour, with wonderful order and sobriety, the court was impatient that no advance was yet made towards a supply.*] Courtiers, and the friends of prerogative, have in all times blamed parliaments when the monarch by ill government has been brought to the distress of asking aid of them, that they would first begin with redress of grievances, before they gave a supply. A late eminent composer of the history of France, speaking of the assembly of the estates general after the battle of Poictiers, observes: "Il s'en falloit beaucoup que les députés des états apportassent à cette assemblée des dispositions convenables à la situation présente. La France avoit besoin d'un prompt secours, on parla d'abus et de réformation; il falloit rétablir les finances, on se plaignit de ceux, qui les avoient précédemment administrées. Il étoit nécessaire de réunir tous les ordres du royaume afin d'opposer des puissans efforts à un ennemi redoutable, et tous les corps divisés entre eux ne se montrerent d'accord que pour faire éclater leurs murmures." *Villaret.* This without doubt is a public evil, but for this, like all the rest, the preceding bad ad-

ministration is answerable. Long experience had shewn the oppressed people, that an arbitrary governor never redresses grievances out of conscience, but necessity. If therefore the friends of the people do not take the advantage of this necessity, but let the occasion slip, their grievances are never likely to be redressed. And it is remarkable, that the people, and the deputies of the people, who at that season in France, and at this in England, having got all the public credit, as they advanced in power, most horribly abused it in both kingdoms.

P. 240. l. 15. who were *ready to give all that the king would ask*, and *indeed had little to give of their own.*] A court corrupt and beggarly.

P. 241. l. 21. that Mr. Hambden, the most popular man in the house.] Here, the historian tells us, is a house of commons of the most excellent temper, and Mr. Hambden the most popular man in this house. I am much afraid the character he afterwards draws of this popular man does not do him justice.

P. 242. l. 25. very *much irreconciled him at court.*] What a court was this, which would not accept of the services of its friends, though in its greatest distress, unless they supported all its former illegalities.

P. 244. l. 20. if it were not in the proportion and *manner proposed* in his majesty's message.] The king had a mind by this scheme of *selling* his claim to ship-money, to leave this testimony of his having a *right* to it.

P. 246. l. 14. nor could *any man imagine what offence* they had given, which put the king upon that resolution.] He who supposed the king had no intention to invade the rights of parliament, would indeed be puzzled to find out the *offence*. But they who suspected him of arbitrary views could not be at a loss in guessing at the *offence*, which was the disposition of this parliament to support, or rather to restore the rights of the people, though in a way that manifested all duty and reverence to the king.

P. 247. l. 15. *declared with great anger*, "*That he had* "*never given him such authority.*"] Why was not sir Harry

Vane disgraced? Strafford hated him; either he was protected by the queen, or he had acted by the express directions of the king.

P. 251. l. 2. not suspected by either of the *lords*' or the *ladies*' factions.] So here was a court *divided against itself*, when the utmost union, under the discredit of numberless public grievances, had been scarce sufficient to preserve it from its enemies.

P. 254. l. 23. and to *leave the forces in Ireland.*] This was the most fatal as well as absurd step the king ever took since the beginning of the differences between him and his parliament. The superiority of Strafford's genius (who had brought Ireland into perfect subjection, and had modelled a numerous and well-disciplined army entirely devoted to him) must, *while he remained in Ireland*, have so dared both the parliament and the Scots, that neither of them would have ventured to rise in arms, while Strafford with his forces was hovering over both one and the other, on the south and north-east coasts of Ireland, and ready to fall upon them on their first motion, before they had raised a man for the service, or at least at hand to disperse any raw and undisciplined troops which they had hastily raised before he could reach them. But when he was brought into England, and at the head of the army in the second expedition against the Scots, his leaving that army on the pacification, and going up to parliament, was the second fatal step which ruined both him and his master. But this was against his own judgment, and the wonderful politics of his prince, whereas the staying with the army would probably have saved both.

P. 258. l. 24. to remove all other grievances but the *Scots.*] The Scots were certainly a grievance. But if the bearing with this assisted them to remove others, they acted not unwisely; and they must have been great grievances that made them not unwilling to bear with this, that was so near them, and so imminent.

P. 261. l. 13. by *a new writ continued.*] This appears to be a mere infatuation in Laud.

P. 261. l. 19. and therefore were sure to be condemned in the *worst.*] This is for the sake of the antithesis, or surely he could never *call that the worst of times* which had given a parliament of the high character he had just described, and afforded a people averse to arbitrary government. But he confounds times, and gives to the year forty the character of the year forty-eight.

P. 262. l. 7. Though I am persuaded their *numbers increased not.*] I believe he judged truly. It is persecution only that can *increase* an old sect.

P. 263. l. 4. And for the most invidious protection and countenance of that whole party.] When Laud was so intent on suppressing puritanism, why did he not curb these insolencies of the papists? But Laud was turned minister of state; and we see the papists were the ready instruments of the *most odious and most grievous* of the court projects.

P. 265. l. 3. The earl of Strafford had for the space of almost six years entirely governed Ireland, where he had been *compelled,* upon reason of state, to exercise *many acts of power.*] Which is a *compulsion* of a minister's own creating, and therefore no excuse for illegal *acts of power.*

P. 265. l. 14. When and why he was *called out of Ireland.*] This was one of the most fatal steps in the conduct of Charles the First. Had lord Strafford remained at the head of his well-disciplined army in Ireland, he had saved himself, his master, and his three kingdoms. For while he continued there, he kept Ireland in perfect subjection, and hung like a meteor over the other island, ready to burst upon the north or south of England, as either of them gave signs of a rebellious disposition: whereas by dissolving the greatest part of that army, and coming singly to command new raised troops for the king against the Scots, that check being taken off, the three nations immediately flamed out into rebellion without control; and the first effects of that combustion was Strafford's ruin: it being remarkable, that agents from the three nations combined with equal fury in his destruction.

P. 266. l. 20. and his *parts.*] When a dull man becomes

disinclined to a man of parts, though it was not his parts that first gave the umbrage, yet it is that which shall fix and heighten the aversion.

P. 267. l. 15. indeed was better skilled to make his master *great* abroad, than gracious at home.] That is, by extending the prerogative beyond law; or in other words, by assisting to make him arbitrary. For the Stewarts always being restrained by laws, were lessened in the estimation of their fellow sovereigns.

P. 268. l. 9. *looking upon what the law had intended for their preservation, to be now applied to their destruction.*] The historian, who well understood the nature, and knew the change in the feudal tenures, seems to confess that the *court of wards* was now so *applied*. It is odd therefore he should speak of this *jewel of the crown* in the terms he does. For though the legal *right* subsisted after the *reason* had ceased, yet to compare it with what the *subject enjoyed of things most his own*, was giving it a character it by no means deserved.

P. 268. l. 24. *He had more outfaced the law* in bold projects and pressures upon the people.] An admirable character of Charles the First's ministers and favourites, that they all *outfaced the law*, the difference was only from more to less.

P. 269. l. 13. as the most *melancholic* of the other.] *Melancholic* for obnoxious.

P. 273. l. 2. might have *proved of great use.*] This is very consistent with that species of knavery of which he is here insinuated to be guilty. The marquis desired this licence, not for the sake of the king, or of the Scots, but for his own sake. And when in pursuance of this licence he had secured that point, he was more disposed to the king's service, than to the service of the covenanters.

P. 284. l. 20. and *had somewhat of a judgment from Heaven in it.*] He could have said nothing worse of the arbitrary illegal actions of the court.

P. 286. l. 30. that the calling so many *discontented*, or *disobliged*, or *disaffected* men together.] It is worth notice,

that these *discontented*, *disobliged*, and *disaffected men* were the whole body of the English nobility. What then must the administration have been, to have put one estate of the legislature into this disposition ? In what condition the other part was, we find on opening the parliament.

P. 287. l. 1. *very few whereof had that inclination and reverence* for the person of the king.] How was it possible they should have any *inclination* to a master who aspired to be absolute, or any *reverence* for one who knew so little how to become so?

P. 289. l. 29. though there had been some *inadvertencies* and *incogitancy* in the circumstances of the transaction.] Strange! after what he had before told us of this transaction.

P. 290. l. 25. very loyal wishes for his majesty's *prosperity*.] That is, success to his arbitrary schemes.

P. 292. l. 15. so that the preacher reprehended the husband, governed the wife, chastised the children, and insulted over the servants, in the houses of the greatest men.] An admirable and just picture.

P. 294. l. 16. without the consent or privity of *those* who were concerned.] Hyde, Falkland, &c.

P. 294. l. 17. disliked *her absolute power with the king*.] If this was true, could it possibly be but that very reasonable jealousies must be entertained of the king?

P. 294. l. 20. *Every man there*.] Is not this making the whole court a pack of rascals?

P. 298. l. penult. talked *now in another dialect* both of things and persons.] It was no wonder. The sudden dissolution of the foregoing parliament was enough to convince them that nothing but very powerful remedies could save the constitution, especially when they considered the circumstances with which that dissolution was attended; for we find in p. 314. one of the secretaries of state *signed warrants for searching the studies and papers of some of the members*.

P. 302. l. 15. in which the lives as well as the fortunes of men had been disposed of *out of the common road of justice*.]

Very soft; as if *justice* had been observed, though the *formalities* of it had been neglected.

P. 305. l. 5. they *voted unanimously*.] Can there possibly be a stronger presumption of his enormous behaviour than this?

P. 306. l. 15. without the mention of any one *crime*.] Meaning *criminal action*. The *crime* was *mentioned*, viz. high treason.

P. 307. l. 10. that when the first heat (which *almost all men brought with them*) should be a little allayed.] What raised this universal heat but a wicked administration?

P. 309. l. 22. *when, notwithstanding all their endeavours to divert it*, that business was brought into debate.] This was done very dexterously by Hyde and Falkland. But the curious narrative of that transaction is omitted.

P. 309. l. 27. if their rule were true, "that an endeavour "to alter the government by law, and to introduce an arbi- "trary power, were treason," &c.] Is not this a confession that the practices of the court were an endeavour to alter the government, &c.? A thing which the noble historian treats up and down in this work as the greatest of calumnies.

P. 311. l. 17. *frighted away the lord keeper of the great seal of England—for the lord Finch, it was visible he was in their favour*.] It appears by the omitted narrative, hinted at in the foregoing page, (and which, since the chancellor's pieces of history were lodged at Oxford, has been discovered and transcribed by many,) it appears, I say, that Finch was not *frighted away* by the *reformers*, for he had made his peace with them; but frighted away by Hyde and Falkland, partly on that account, and partly to divert the storm from Laud and Strafford. Nor can what the historian here says of their frighting away Finch be reconciled to what he immediately subjoins conformable to that narrative; in this place,—*it was visible Finch was in their favour*.

P. 312. l. 18. which, by the strict letter of the statute, the lawyers said, would have been very penal to him; i. e. *Windebank*.] What the historian says here of Windebank,

is fully confirmed by a variety of Letters in the Clarendon collection of State Papers now published.

P. 314. l. 12. sir Harry Vane, who was under the same charge, and against whom indeed that charge *was aimed.*] By Hyde and Falkland, I suppose, as in the case of Finch, and for the same reason.

P. 314. l. 23. and so they were well content with his *escape.*] After this clear account, is it not odd he should introduce it, p. 311. by saying, He *could never yet learn the true reason why they suffered secretary Windebank to escape their justice.*

P. 316. l. 13. where indeed many *notable* sentences had passed.] *Notable*, a soft word for scandalous.

P. 322. l. 3. many persons of wisdom and *gravity.*] The historian generally uses this word for *moderation, sobriety.*

P. 334. l. 23. Men who were so *sagacious* in pursuing their point.] Sedulous.

P. 342. l. 2. And though, it may be, there hath been too much *curiosity* heretofore used to discover men's humours in particular points.] i. e. in plain English, engagements taken of men before they were admitted of the council.

P. 345. l. 26. *insipidly.*] Insidiously.

P. 370. l. 1. and *enjoyed the greatest tranquillity* of any man of the three kingdoms.] Is not the good treatment of this prudent, inoffensive, though able prelate, a strong proof that the enemies of the court were not so savage and ungenerous as the noble historian commonly represents them?

P. 373. l. 27. many men choosing rather to lend their money, than *to be known to have it.*] This could never have been the case, if very illegal methods had not been employed by the court to rob them of it. When a citizen's property is safe, he always glories in the abundance of it.

P. 381. l. penult. when the trial was according to law, before and *by his peers* only.] Alluding to a standing order of the house, in a declaration that the *bishops* were lords of parliament, but not *peers*, made a little before this time.

P. 382. l. 20. "his having been present at the trial" was alleged and *urged to him, as an argument* for the passing

the bill of attainder.] This shews that the charge was generally believed to have been very strongly proved; and indeed the misdemeanours, which they called *accumulate treason*, (a crime unknown to the law,) were fully proved against him.

P. 386. l. 27. which indeed were powerful acts.] i. e. *tyrannous*, as *manifesting a nature excessively imperious.*

P. 391. l. 11. since it had been reviewed by his majesty, and his privy-council here, upon an appeal from the lord viscount Ely, (the degraded lord chancellor,) and upon a solemn hearing there, which took up many days, it had received a confirmation.] It was strange that one of the earl's great abilities should urge this plea, which tended the more to enrage his enemies against him as a favourite, and against his master, as the protector of him in his iniquity. These two cases, the playing with the life of one peer, and with the property of another, was highly criminal in a viceroy.

P. 405. l. 20. by reason some of the committee, who were intrusted to prepare the charge against the earl of Strafford, and consequently were privy to that secret, were *fallen from them.*] Lord Digby. This paper was stolen from the committee; it was never known by whom, till after seizing the king's cabinet at Naseby, when this paper was found to have been put into the king's hands by Digby at the time of the trial.

P. 408. l. 29. to complain—against the ceremonies, which had been in *constant practice since the reformation, as well as before.*] An odd apology (if it be the historian's) for the *ceremonies*, that they were *in constant practice before the reformation;* i. e. taken from the popish superstitions.

P. 409. l. 15. he did not *discountenance notoriously* those of the clergy who were unconformable.] By *discountenance notoriously*, is meant, put the laws in execution against them. And this is said in diminution of his good character.

P. 409. l. 21. and some other of the *less formal* and more popular prelates.]. By *less formal*, we are to understand less *furious*. Such as Wrenn and his fellows.

P. 410. l. 26. that they seldom carried any thing which

directly *opposed the king's interest.*] This scandalous character of the bench, the historian seems to insinuate is but too true a one.

P. 412. l. 18. for that they as the clergy were the *third estate*, and being taken away, there was nobody left to represent the clergy.] This was once true, but not so at this time. I have explained this matter at large elsewhere.

P. 412. l. 26. if the bishops were taken from sitting in the house of peers, there was nobody who could pretend to *represent the clergy.*] They are now represented by the house of commons.

P. 413. l. 10. and that *he had heard many of the clergy protest, that they could not acknowledge that they were represented by the bishops.*] Without doubt this was amongst the facetious parts of lord Falkland's speech, which his friend here speaks of.

P. 416. l. ult. that this *mortification* might have mended their constitution.] This word, though in itself proper on the occasion, gives an equivoque when following the two verses of Ovid.

P. 418. l. 14. and others, as *ingeniously* declaring.] ingenuously.

P. 421. l. 23. to give Mr. Hyde *public thanks for the service* he had done the house.] Mr. Hyde, in his Life, gives a pleasant account how this *service* was resented by his landlord at York, on his first resorting to the king there.

P. 423. l. 6. want of temper, in the prosecution of their own happiness.] i. e. restoration of violated liberty.

P. 423. l. 14. that he had proceeded with *more passion* in many things, than he ought to have done.] It is true, that in this prosecution the house of commons exposed his *passions* to render him odious; but they were his *principles* which they exposed to render him criminal. By these it appeared he laboured to make the king *arbitrary*, which Laud, in his history of his own troubles, calls making the king *great*. Of this crime he was certainly guilty. But it is as certain, of whatsoever species it is, it does not come within the statute of treasons of Edward III.

P. 427. l. 3. That the king was obliged in conscience to *conform himself*, and his own understanding, to the advice and conscience of his parliament.] Which in other words was taking away the king's negative voice. And therefore this *public conscience* was as absurd an idea, as it was a wicked one.

P. 428. l. 10. Some principal officers of the army, who were members of the house of commons, &c.] Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Piercy, Jermyn, Goring.

P. 428. l. 25. and depended upon *their* interest in.] i. e. the interest of these officers.

P. 432. l. 5. are still attempting *new diminutions of your majesty's just regalities.*] So that his concessions were the parting with some of the rights of his *regalities*, which but ill accords with what they say in the beginning of the petition of the *Reformation of distempers, in church and commonweal.*

P. 434. l. 11. others of the army, who had expressed very *brisk resolutions towards the service.*] The service was evidently no other than to bring up the army to overawe the leaders in parliament, if not the parliament.

P. 434. l. 15. all persons obliging themselves by an *oath of secrecy.*] If no more than defending Whitehall from the rabble, though that more properly belonged to the civil magistrates, why an oath of secrecy?

P. 434. l. 19. At the first meeting, *one* of the persons.] Goring.

P. 436. l. 10. and would not consent to the extending and *extorting conclusions, which did not naturally flow from the premises.*] From the very *premises* in the petition itself, the *conclusion* of overawing the parliament certainly flowed naturally. Goring had a mind the petitioners should speak out amongst themselves, which finding them shy to do, he was resolved they should not make use of his bold advice to his prejudice, and so revealed the whole plot, for a plot it was, as appeared by the oaths of secrecy.

P. 436. l. 15. But as they thought not fit (as I said before) to publish this whole discovery till near three months

after, so they made extraordinary *use of it by parts,* from the instant that they received the secret; it being always their custom, *when they found the heat and distemper of the house,* &c.] Without doubt they made the best use of their enemies' indiscretions, as well as of their criminal confederacies. And who could blame them?

P. 437. l. 10. And in this progress there sometimes *happened strange accidents for the confirmation of their credit.*] No wonder, when they only aggravated, and did not invent those plots against the parliament.

P. 439. l. 4. there had been some *idle discourses in a tavern between some officers, about raising men for Portugal.*] And yet it appears that two courtiers, Piercy and Jermyn, were the encouragers of these *idle discourses.*

P. 440. l. 3. resolved not to trust themselves with such judges.] Piercy and Jermyn.

P. 446. l. 22. He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, *for want of resolution,* of being carried into violent ones.] By this it appears, that though this great man had undertaken to serve the crown, yet it was his purpose, if he found he could not bring his party to what he thought *moderate courses,* he would not break with them as Strafford had formerly done, and devote himself to the court. Whether this purpose, which the historian calls *want of resolution,* proceeded from a point of honour to his party, or a point of duty to his country, is uncertain.

P. 448. l. 25. had the *uncharitableness* to think, that he intended to betray his master.] It is very *uncharitable* to think, because it is thinking without grounds, that a man would give advice to counteract what he deems to be his interest. Now lord Say thought it to be his interest to enter into engagements with the king, to do him service for a reward proposed. He would not therefore designedly defeat the service which was to procure the reward.

P. 450. l. 11. *and a rabble of many thousand people besieged that place.*] Very surprising, after all these tumults, that the king did not prorogue the parliament to Oxford or

Winchester, as was the wont in times of pestilence. But the severity of parliament against the king's servants, and his imbecility in their protection, intimidated them from doing their duty in advice.

P. 452. l. 16. writ a *most pathetical letter* to the king.] Carte, in his History, has an idle story to persuade us that this was a forged letter, fabricated by his enemies. But the papers of his confident Ratcliffe, published amongst the collection of Strafford's Letters, confute this suggestion; for he who should best know speaks of this *pathetic letter* as a genuine one.

P. 456. l. 15. Of all his passions, his pride was most predominant.] His ambition, pride, and appetite for revenge, were all exorbitant. His parts were of the first rate, and these solely directed to the gratification of his passions. What wonder then, when men found him in the station of prime minister, they should never think themselves safe while he continued there?

P. 459. l. 17. and upon the *undertaking of persons he then most trusted.*] *Those whom he most trusted* must have been under the same *agony*, or rather infatuation with the king, or a word or two might have been added that would easily have passed; whereby something of the evil of this bill had been guarded against. The clause I mean is, that after the act had said, *this parliament should not be dissolved without their own consent*, it had been added, *or by the death of the king*, on which, by the constitution, a dissolution ensued. Not that I suppose this would have prevented the king's murder, in the state things then were; but it would probably have prevented things from coming to that state, by a care and use they would then have had of the king's welfare.

P. 459. l. 22. After the *passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two houses, grew marvellous calm and composed.*] Without doubt the master, by being untrue to himself, had destroyed all trust his servants could repose in him; and the *sovereign*, by giving up his prerogative, enabled his subjects

to become his masters. After this he could expect nothing but what he found, his friends become perfidious, and his enemies implacable; the just reward of uxorious infatuation.

P. 461. l. 6. which made *him* believe it depended very much on *him*.] The king. Lord Essex.

P. 466. l. 18. This discourse, so methodically and *confidently averred*.] They might fairly as well as *confidently aver* this, since some of the officers, by the historian's own account, had as desperate intentions as are here imputed to them, particularly Goring and Piercy, if their own confessions were to be credited.

P. 467. l. 19. that not a fifth part of those who were accessaries to that infamous prodigality were either *favourers of their ends, or great well-wishers* to their nation.] Certainly not; but they considered the Scots as useful instruments for recovering their own liberties from the exorbitant exercise of the prerogative.

P. 471. l. 26. that there was a design to bring up the army to force the parliament.] Without doubt this matter, even as here represented, gave sufficient cause to all good men to mistrust the king's good intentions to public liberty.

P. 474. l. 16. *concluded*, that he had some notable temptation in conscience.] And who can say they concluded illogically? unless what this great historian is ever too apt to take for granted, the declaring at this time against the court was a certain mark of corruption of heart.

P. 474. l. 29. but then obliged him, first to draw such a letter, &c.] Surely a very improbable state of the fact.

P. 475. l. 16. But now that they could not be *dissolved without their own consent*.] This was indeed the natural consequence of that monstrous impolitic concession of the crown, and might, with a number of other evils, one would think, have been easily foreseen. It is pretended it was foreseen; but the historian himself insinuates, that the king then stood so ill with the people, that his denying this bill would have occasioned a general insurrection. Admitting even this, yet true policy required that the king should have risked every

thing, rather than consent to have this branch of the prerogative thus wrested from him.

P. 478. l. 3. It was wondered at by many, and sure was a great misfortune to the king, that he chose not rather at that time (though the business was only to disband) to constitute the earl of Essex general of his army, than the earl of Holland.] Which without doubt was to be laid upon the queen, whose favourite Holland then was. Essex had some worth; Holland none at all. He lived like a knave, and died like a fool.

P. 480. l. 19. As they had *lost all confidence in the affections* of the English army.] If the parliament *had lost all confidence in the affections of the English army*, this is a proof that at least they believed the plot, of which the historian tells us they made so good use. The truth is, that this fixed jealousy of the leaders in parliament against the king, was not so much pretended as the noble historian all along insinuates. Men can never entirely divest themselves of their nature, not even politicians; and these leaders, conscious of all the malice in their hearts against the king and monarchy, became naturally suspicious that he knew more of them than he did, and consequently that he was always working against them, as they against him.

P. 491. l. 25. But others believed, he had been so far guilty of what had been done amiss, that he would neither have been able nor willing to preserve the foundation of that power, which *might hardly have forgotten by what means it had been oppressed.*] This has the air of a confirmation of what the king's enemies appeared most to have dreaded in all their transactions with him, his unforgiving temper.

P. 493. l. 21. was the advice and desire of the committee from the parliament of Ireland.] Most of them papists. See p. 376.

P. 500. l. 29. But the taking it away was an act very popular; which, it may be, was not then more politic, than the reviving it may be thought hereafter, when the present distempers shall be expired.] This is a lesson for the court only.

P. 504. l. 17. will be acknowledged, by an incorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of the king's princely and fatherly affection to his people.] It is true these concessions were a ground for the parliament's satisfaction; but so far from being any mark of the king's fatherly affection, that his ungraceful manner of yielding made them lose all confidence in him, or satisfaction in his concessions.

P. 522. l. 10. It began now to be observed, &c.] *This portion the bishop has copied from the MS. and added the following remark:* This is one of the most curious and instructing narratives in the whole history; apparently omitted in the printed history by the editors of it, (lord Clarendon and lord Rochester, sons of the author,) in civility to lord Nottingham, (son of the chancellor of that name, and of the family of lord keeper Finch,) at that time much connected in party with lord Nottingham.

## VOL. II.

P. 2. l. 16. and having received some information, from sir Jacob Ashley and sir John Coniers, *of some idle passages* in the late tampering with the army to petition, which had not been before heard of.] Without doubt idle enough, but not the less dangerous for being *idle*, because the authors were known to be desperate persons. As to Holland's motives for communicating the intelligence, it certainly was not better than what the historian represents it; for he was one of the most corrupt courtiers of the most corrupt side of the court; I mean the queen's side.

P. 3. l. 26. the chief rulers amongst them first designing what they thought fit to be done, and the *rest concluding* any thing lawful, that they thought, in order to the doing and compassing the same.] By the way, this shews the general opinion which the country gentlemen had of the probity of their leaders.

P. 5. l. 9. comprehending as well the archbishop of Canterbury, as *those* who at that time had no contempt of the

security they reaped thereby.] i. e. those who invited the Scots into England.

P. 9. l. 1. because the bishop of Lincoln, as dean of Westminster, had formed a prayer for that occasion, and enjoined it to be read on that day, in those churches where he had jurisdiction; which they liked not: both as it was a form, and formed by *him.*] As a bishop; otherwise he was not personally obnoxious to them, but rather in their good graces, both as a capital enemy of the archbishop's, and an opposer of the ecclesiastical innovations.

P. 11. l. 24. and I am confident, there was not, from the beginning of this parliament, *one* orthodox or learned man recommended by them to any church in England.] As incredible as this may appear, it may be seen from the lists of these lecturers, occasionally to be found in the historical tracts of that time, to be very true; and some of the strongest marks of the ill intentions of the leaders in parliament.

P. 12. l. 30. told them whatsoever the king himself had said to him,—as a person true to him; and when, it is *very probable, he was not much delighted with* the proceedings at Westminster.] Something must have been very wrong in the intentions and secret purposes of the king and court, when the revealing their secrets was so hurtful to the king's credit. For we may observe, that the historian only charges Holland with betraying secrets, not with inventing tales to the king's discredit.

P. 13. l. 25. and by reason of the unfaithfulness of her *nearest servants.*] Lady Carlisle, the Erinnys of that time.

P. 17. l. 23. but rather desired, "to have them both "made away;" which *he frankly undertook to do.*] This takes extremely from Montrose's heroism.

P. 17. l. 24. but the king, abhorring that expedient, though for his own security, advised, that the *proofs might be prepared for the parliament.*] This was an unjust as well as an imprudent step, after the act of oblivion and pacification.

P. 23. l. 8. and that the rebels published and declared, that they had the king's authority for *all they did; which*

*calumny, though without the least shadow or colour of truth, &c.*] How could the historian say this, who well knew that the Irish rebels produced the broad seal fixed to an instrument in which was this pretended authority? The historian, in his vindication of the marquis of Ormond, explains that affair, and says, it necessitated the king to put the prosecution of this war under the parliament's direction. On this account I suspect something has been struck out in this History, by the editor's not explaining that matter; for, contrary to the historian's usual custom, we have here no reason given why the king made so fatal a step.

P. 29. l. 21. and others as unskilfully, finding that in former times, when the religion of the state *was a vital part of its policy*.] This comes to no more than this, that in the times of popery the church shared the *imperium* with the state.

P. 30. l. 19. I could never yet know, why the doctors of the civil laws were more of kin to the bishops, or the church, than the common lawyers were.] No; but they were more akin to popery; and this the archbishop's enemies said he very well knew. He was an enemy indeed to a pope at Rome, but not to a pope at Lambeth. Besides, the civil law is much more propitious to arbitrary rule than the common.

P. 34. l. 4. that these knowing and discerning men (for such I must confess there have been) should believe it possible for them to flourish.] Selden.

P. 34. l. 20. who seem now, by the fury and iniquity of the time, to stand upon the ground they have won, and to be masters of the field; and, it may be, wear some of the trophies and spoils they have ravished from the oppressed.] Whitlock, Maynard, Widrington.

P. 35. l. 16. and very few followers, who had either *affection to his person*, or respect to his honour.] It was no great wonder he had not the *affection* of his court servants, for he did every thing ungraciously, even to the conferring graces. And it is remarkable, that the affection borne to him, was by them who had had no relation to the court, but

had gone over to his service out of a sense of honour and justice, when the ample reparation he had made to his people would not be accepted by the leaders in parliament. And the king in his distresses grew more gracious and affable to his servants, and then indeed began to gain their *affections.*

P. 38. l. 5. that he should have the entire obedience of that nation, *to preserve his full rights and regalities in England.*] This was the true secret of the king's concessions to the Scotch nation, that he might have them the instruments of enslaving England.

P. 38. l. 21. for surely he had then *very hard thoughts of a great part of the nation.*] Had not the historian fairly explained the secret, the king's concessions had been totally unaccountable and incredible, as he had *then very hard thoughts* (the historian says) of a great part of the nation.

P. 38. l. 29. But his majesty never considered, or not soon enough, that they could not reasonably hope to keep what they had so ill got, but by the same arts by which they were such gainers.] The impolicy of the king's conduct admirably exposed. The injustice of it he leaves to others to find out, or rather chooses to disguise it, that it should not be found out.

P. 40. l. 26. to be now welcomed home with such a volume of reproaches, for what *others* had done amiss, and which *he himself* had reformed.] Very sophistical. The grievances and the redress of them being necessarily to be ascribed to one and the same author.

P. 60. l. 27. But the rule the king gave himself, &c.] The impolicy of the king's conduct admirably shewn. From this, and many other instances of ill conduct of the like kind, it appears, that the king's abilities (for abilities he had) were of a private, not a public sort.

P. 64. l. 26. and that he would reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how *powerful and near soever.*] The queen's.

P. 69. l. 7. and therefore this stratagem was used, to transfer the power of pressing men *from the king to themselves;* and to get the king, that he might be now able to

raise men for Ireland, *to disable himself from pressing* upon any other occasion.] By this it appears that the court understood it to be part of the prerogative to press. What the historian says of *transferring the power from the king to themselves*, is invidiously remarked. It was *transferring* it (as was fit) from the king to the whole legislature.

P. 70. l. 25. Hereupon, Mr. Saint-John, the king's solicitor, (*a man that might be trusted in any company*:)] i. e. his party had no reason to take umbrage at his procuring a private audience of the king, so firmly attached as he was to their interest.

P. 75. l. 4. by cozening them into opinions which might hereafter be applicable to their ends, &c.] All this is very obscurely expressed; but the meaning is, that the leaders now altered their method of proceeding. They had till now proceeded more directly to their end. They now began to use obliquities and detours to compass it.

P. 76. l. 3. *if there had not been too many concurrent causes, might be thought the sole cause and ground of all the mischiefs that ensued.*] This is very ill expressed; but the meaning is obvious,—that had there been no other cause, this would have appeared sufficient, &c.

P. 83. l. 3. *the presses swelled with the most virulent invectives* against them.] Where Milton most distinguished himself.

P. 88. l. 21. and one of the justices of the peace, who, according to his oath, had executed that writ, was committed to the Tower for that offence.] This act was outrageous as any the king had ever committed, and fully betrayed the spirit of the leaders.

P. 93. l. 7. under the names of *roundheads*.] Their hair, according to the city fashion, being cropt round and close.

P. 94. l. 1. The lord Falkland was wonderfully beloved by all who knew him.] Yet this man the court had suffered to escape them till their necessities forced him upon them.

P. 94. l. 26. nor had *any veneration for the court, but only such a loyalty to the king as the law required from him.*]

Nothing could be said worse of the court, than this account of the esteem in which lord Falkland held it.

P. 94. l. 28. And he had naturally a wonderful reverence for parliaments, as believing them most solicitous for justice, the violation whereof, in the least degree, he could *not forgive any mortal power.*] This is a covert insinuation, that lord Falkland thought resistance lawful, which the historian did not.

P. 97. l. 23. The king at the same time resolved to remove *another officer.*] St. John, solicitor general.

P. 98. l. ult. though in very few days he did very fatally *swerve* from it.] By the influence of the queen.

P. 99. l. 1. By what *hath been said before,* it appears, &c.] I don't know where this is to be met with in the preceding account. It looks as if something concerning Digby was omitted.

P. 100. l. 13. and so his majesty being satisfied, both *in the discoveries he made of what had passed,* and in his professions for the future.] This is the severest thing he ever suffered himself to say of his old enemy, and it is said very slily. It must be owned his proceedings would have justified greater severity, which Digby's conduct would have abundantly supplied.

P. 100. l. 27. which he was *very luxuriant in promising to do, and officious enough in doing as much as was just.*] These two qualities very rarely meet in the same character, and yet they are not contrary or inconsistent.

P. 101. l. 2. and very few men of *so great parts were, upon all occasions, more counsellable than he.*] The historian takes notice how predominant vanity was in this lord. Now a *vain man of parts* is easily counsellable, *a proud man of parts* not so.

P. 104. l. 20. and *too little gravity for a bishop.*] i. e. too much wit; for indeed the discourse alluded to (called *the Holy Altar, name, and thing,*) abounds with it. But if one considers the very trifling nature of that, then very popular subject, it will be confessed the bishop treated it as it deserved, and in a way most likely to bring it down to its just

value in the common estimation. Which was a thing most to be wished.

P. 108. l. 6. whereas there was *not indeed the least shadow of truth* in the whole relation.] I suppose the noble historian speaks this of his own knowledge, as being one of the council at the *meeting*. The confidence with which he tells the whole story shews it.

P. 109. l. 23. Some had much kindness for him, not only as a known enemy to the archbishop of Canterbury, but as a supporter of those opinions, and those persons, which were *against the church itself*.] Nothing of this appears in that famous book, of *Holy Altar, name, and thing*, unless by the *church* be meant the innovations brought in by Laud.

P. 109. l. 30. with all the *malice and bitterness imaginable*, against the archbishop, then in prison.] It must be remembered he had been cruelly and unjustly persecuted by Laud.

P. 111. l. 10. and so betrayed *a fundamental right* of the whole order.] A fundamental right it certainly was, but it had been given up long before Williams was born.

P. 112. l. 1. yet his public conscience, as a king, &c.] This was very vile; and upon the vile and false principle that morals and true politics do not coincide.

P. 112. l. 14. *This was the argumentation of that unhappy casuist.*] This likewise I must needs think, from the positive manner of telling, the historian had a certain knowledge of, from the information of the king himself.

P. 119. l. 2. and even that clause of declaring all acts null, which had been, or should be, done in their absence, in defence of which no man then durst open his mouth, will be thought *good law and good logic; not that the presence of the bishops in that time was so essential, that no act should pass without them.*] But their *presence* is thus *essential* on the historian's principle, that the bishops constitute a distinct estate in parliament. But the principle is false. If they did constitute a distinct estate, they must have a *negative voice*, as every other of the distinct estates have. Their having it not, shews they are no such distinct estate. As

for the rest of the historian's reasoning concerning *force*, it is certainly right.

P. 120. l. 18. will be looked upon as *a determination of that injustice, impiety, and horror,* &c.] This, it must be owned, is said with great truth.

P. 120. l. 28. that they should, in such a storm, &c.] Noble.

P. 122. l. 1. so that the angry party, who were *no more treated with, to abate their fury.*] i. e. invited or bought off by the court.

P. 122. l. 14. and, whilst the earl of Strafford was his prisoner, did many offices not becoming the trust he had from the king, and *contributed much to the jealousy*, which that party had of his majesty.] From hence it appears Balfour had been tampered with to connive at Strafford's escape.

P. 122. l. 20. but to do it with his own consent, that there might be no *manifestation of displeasure.*] For a *manifestation of displeasure* would have supported the truth of Balfour's information of such tampering.

P. 123. l. 19. but he being not at that time in town, and the other having some secret reason to fill that place in the instant with a man *who might be trusted;* he suddenly resolved upon this gentleman, as one who would be faithful to him for the obligation, *and execute any thing he should desire or direct.*] To keep the five members safe whom it was determined to arrest.

P. 127. l. 27. The accused persons, upon information and intelligence what his majesty intended to do.] By lady Carlisle.

P. 151. l. 13. As it had these and many other advantages and helps to be rich, so it was looked upon too much of late time as a common stock not easy to be exhausted, and *as a body not to be grieved by ordinary acts of injustice;* and therefore, as it was a place of resort, in all cases of necessity, for the sudden borrowing great sums of money, in which they were commonly merchants too good for the crown, so it was *become a practice,* upon any specious pre-

tences, *to void the security*, that was *at any time given* for money so borrowed.] Could any thing be worse said of the court, or more in excuse for the indisposition of the city towards it?

P. 152. l. 3. *and a fine of fifty thousand pounds* imposed upon the city.] A sufficient cause of indisposition.

P. 152. l. 15. so that, at the beginning of the parliament, the city was as ill affected to *the court as the country was.*] And for the same reason, the acts of tyranny and injustice exercised over all.

P. 163. l. 12. assuring him, that if they two went, they should be *both murdered* at Hampton-court.] The earl of Essex was no fool. What an idea must this give us of the king's known character!

P. 169. l. 24. through their sides the judgment and care of the petitioners and others were wounded, &c.] Who struck the first stroke, whether the king or the parliament, is a trifling question.

P. 184. l. 28. But even that attempt had been too great for the solitary state the king was in at that time; which was most naturally to have been improved by standing upon his guard, and denying all that was in his *power to deny.*] For at this time the historian supposes, and truly, that he had granted all that, as lovers of liberty and friends to the constitution, they ought to demand or expect.

P. 195. l. 5. by *the mere mention of privilege of parliament.*] Not by the mere mention. I rather think it was by those notorious breaches of privilege so often committed by K. J. and K. C. in imprisoning the members.

P. 198. l. 3. And no doubt these invasions, on pretence of privilege, will hereafter be judged to have been the most unparalleled and capital breach of those privileges, that had ever yet been attempted.] Without doubt they were. But the fatal effect, when the tide turned, of the court's long invasion of the parliament's legal privileges.

P. 202. l. 12. he being resolved only to deny those things, the granting whereof *would alter the fundamental laws.*] The first able and wise thing the king did, was making a

stand in this place. And after so many satisfactory concessions, it enabled him, when the appeal was made to the sword, to divide the kingdom with his parliament, which before those concessions he could not do; and which, after granting away the power of the militia, he would never have dared to attempt.

P. 224. l. 12. The cry therefore of the poor and needy, your poor petitioners, is, that such persons—may be forthwith publicly declared, to the end they may *be made manifest.*] After this, with what face can our present republicans talk of the purity of the intentions of those patriots, who set these petitioning beggars at work?

P. 224. l. 25. which we hope will remove from us our destructive fears, *and prevent that, which apprehension will make the wisest and peaceablest men to put into execution.*] Here was a very early intimation of the commonwealth they afterwards erected.

P. 230. l. 7. "and that there was a decay and deadness "of trade, and *want and poverty* growing upon the whole "kingdom."] The riches of the city and king soon afterwards appeared from the immense sums the parliament drained from them.

P. 232. l. 3. *And shortly after that discovery to her majesty, those persons before mentioned were accused of high treason.*] So the queen was the author of that counsel which again made all desperate when things were in a very hopeful way.

P. 232. l. 20. the same person first telling her what was in projection against her, and then returning intelligence of any expressions and distemper, *he* might easily observe upon the apprehension which the other begot.] It was the countess of Carlisle.

P. 233. l. 2. to the rancour of which the *most precious balm* of the crown must be applied.] The militia.

P. 234. l. 19. to that petition his majesty returned this answer: "That he was willing to apply a remedy," &c.] To allay the queen's fears, the king again dishonoured him-

self, and made his condition worse, by these two answers concerning the *five members* and the *militia.*

P. 242. l. 29. *neither did he believe that there were such men in nature.*] If it was true that he granted such no passes, I should easily believe with the king that they were not in nature; for the forgers of the first lie would hardly stick at the second.

P. 243. l. 30. Upon those considerations, and some *other imaginations upon the prospect of affairs.*] i. e. his hopes of being at the head of an army in the north.

P. 247. l. 15. However those of greatest trust about the king.] I suppose he means Colepepper and Falkland.

P. 263. l. 29. And I saw Mr. Hambden, shortly after this discovery, *take him in his arms,* telling him, "his soul "rejoiced to see *that God had put it into his heart* to take "the right way."] This fact, which no one can doubt the truth of, very much shakes the opinion, which the whigs pretend to have of the real patriotism of Hambden.

P. 264. l. 30. by which many might understand his own coming in person to the house of commons on the fourth of January, which begot so unhappy a misunderstanding *between him and his people.*] This shews how much that action alarmed the nation.

P. 275. l. 29. The cause they had to doubt that the late design, styled *the queen's pious intention.*] To this the king, in his answer, (see p. 302.) says nothing.

P. 285. l. 21. *that no man ought to petition for the government established by law, because he had already his wish.*] Mr. Hyde was then in the house, so there could be no mistake as to the fact. But those who reasoned thus must have been sunk into the very dregs of faction.

P. 287. l. 7. *it is a high thing to tax a king with breach of promise.*] How many had this unfortunate king broke since his accession!

P. 288. l. 7. *Have I violated your laws?*] Sure he had in many instances since his accession to the crown. He must mean then the laws he had passed in this parliament.

P. 299. l. 12. Then they sent those propositions digested into a bill to the king, with such clauses of power to them, and diminution of his own, that, upon the matter, he put the making a peace with the rebels *there out of his power.*] Yet he afterwards made a peace with them without consent of parliament. To which it will be said, the parliament was then become his enemies. This is true; but a king's stipulation by *bill* is not with the particular members of parliament, but with his whole people. However, had his treaties with the Irish rebels in his distresses at home been public, open, and avowed, I think he might be justified; the advantage he gave the parliament in this affair, was his doing it obliquely and secretly, while he denied it publicly, and made open professions to the contrary: yet even this the untoward situation of his affairs unavoidably forced him upon.

P. 307. l. 29. but was confident, no sober honest man in his kingdoms could believe, that he was so desperate, or so senseless, to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this his kingdom in sudden distraction and ruin, but *his own name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy.*] If he really thought that the merely bringing in strangers to defend his invaded rights would thus affect his character, what must he afterwards think would be the consequence with regard to his memory, when he negotiated for the service of a rebel army of Irish murderers.

P. 308. l. 16. or force them to apply themselves to the use of any other power, than what the law had given them: the which he *always intended* should be the measure of his own power, and expected it should be the rule of his subjects' obedience.] How could he say this?

P. 312. l. 22. *above all*, that the rebellion in Ireland was fomented, and countenanced at least, by the queen, that good terms might be got for the catholics in England.] This would further confirm one in the opinion that something is omitted in that place of the first volume, where the king gives the management of the Irish war to the parliament.

P. 313. l. 17. And the truth is, (*which I speak knowingly,*)

at that time, the king's resolution was to shelter himself wholly under the law.] I suppose this was determined of by the counsel of Hyde, Colepepper, and Falkland.

P. 313. l. 24. presuming that *the king and the law together* would have been strong enough for any encounter that could happen.] They had been so long strangers, and now acted in conjunction so awkwardly, that the people could not be brought to think that they were yet thoroughly reconciled to one another.

P. 322. l. 14. it being our resolution, upon observation of the mischief which then grew by *arbitrary power*, hereafter to keep the rule ourself.] This was very ingenuous, and should have given the parliament confidence in what he promised to do thereafter.

P. 327. l. 24. Indeed no man could speak in the justification of either of them, yet no man thought them *equally culpable*.] The difference certainly was, that one of them was one of the best, and the other one of the worst men of his time.

P. 357. l. 8. to the sincerity of which profession he *called God to witness*, with this further assurance, that he would *never consent, upon whatsoever pretence, to a toleration of the popish profession there*.] He afterwards in a treaty with them did consent to a toleration.

P. 368. l. 19. *his life, when it was most pleasant, being nothing so precious to him, as it was,* and should be, *to govern and preserve his people with honour and justice*.] When the king said this of the *past* to men who were well acquainted with the *past*, how could they believe him in what he said of the future?

P. 437. l. 24. who very well saw and felt, that the king had not only, to a degree, wound himself out of that labyrinth, in which, four months before, they had involved him, with their privileges, fears, and jealousies.] The labyrinth in which the king had involved himself, was of his own and his father's making, and the late extricating himself from it, which indeed he had done, was by restoring the nation's rights by a number of salutary laws.

P. 438. l. 16. for, *besides their presumption in endeavouring to search what the scripture itself told them was unsearchable, the heart of the king.*] A reflection unworthy this great historian, and fitter for one of these declarations to the people.

P. 438. l. 23. without some *overt, unlawful act.*] His administration in the first fourteen years of his reign.

P. 438. l. 26. and therefore, to declare that the king intended *to make war against his parliament.*] And yet, after all, it was the king's intention, and a just one, to reduce the factious to reason.

P. 443. l. 7. and, whoever considers that the nature of men, especially of *men in authority*, is inclined rather to commit two errors, than to retract one.] The peculiar reason of this greater propensity in men in authority is, that a confessed error tends to lessen the just weight they should preserve, therefore they endeavour to cover it by another.

P. 443. l. 27. I am confident, with very good warrant, that many men have, from their souls, abhorred every article of this rebellion.] Hollis, and the heads of the presbyterian party.

P. 444. l. 7. a man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, that, upon this occasion, considers the method of *God's justice.*] This is one of the great uses of civil history.

P. 444. l. penult. for many of those, who were the principal makers of the first pit, are so far from falling into it, that they have been the chiefest diggers of the second ditch, in which so many have been confounded.] Such as the earls of Holland, Pembroke, and others.

P. 461. l. 5. They said, they did not conceive, that numbers did make an assembly unlawful, but when either *the end*, or manner of their carriage should be *unlawful.*] *The end* was unlawful, intimidating, and putting a force upon the members of the two houses, whom the mob called *malignants.*

P. 465. l. 1. yet in *none of them had* they bereaved his majesty of any just, necessary, or profitable prerogative of

the crown.] It is true, but they were asking for one that did, viz. the militia.

P. 467. l. 24. but they could not, in wisdom and fidelity to the commonwealth, do that, *till he should choose such counsellors and officers*, as might order and dispose it to the public good.] First, they said they could not settle his revenue till such and such acts were passed for the security of the subject. Well, those acts were passed. Why then is not the revenue [settled?] Why now truly they could not do it, till his evil counsellors were removed, or in other words, till he had surrendered himself up to them bound and captive.

P. 469. l. 21. These objections,—for which it was intended.] An insolent mockery.

P. 471. l. 4. For their votes of the fifteenth and sixteenth of March, they said, if the matter of those votes were according to law, &c.] Miserable chicana, to support a principle that overturned the constitution.

P. 477. l. 9. or *could have found a more authentic, or a higher judge* in matters of law, than the high court of parliament.] As if, because there is not a more authentic or higher judge of matters of law than the high court of parliament, that the high court of parliament were not as liable to transgress the law as the king had been.

P. 482. l. 27. for he stayed *near a week* after at Whitehall.] Had he stayed there a few weeks longer, the rabble would have pulled him out of Whitehall; which is evident to all impartial men who consider the temper of the city at that time, and the power of their demagogues in the house.

P. 487. l. 1. With this declaration they published the examinations of Mr. Goring, Mr. Percy's letter to the earl of Northumberland; which were the great evidence they had of the plot of bringing up the army, to awe the parliament.] Though the attacking the five members was a much more foolish affair than the cabal amongst these officers of the army countenanced by the king; yet this latter was a much greater and more unjustifiable violence on the constitution.

P. 487. l. penult. which by all parties was, *at that time, thought a most considerable advantage.*] It is plain then at

that time, no party suspected what afterwards came to pass: had they done that, they would have known that the possession of the great seal was of small advantage.

P. 495. l. 27. how much he had been, and was still, *betrayed by persons who were about him.*] Mr. Hyde was without doubt well acquainted with all the perfidy of these intrigues amongst the courtiers; which, excepting short hints upon several occasions, he has endeavoured to bury in oblivion, whereby his history has lost much of its integrity, and posterity a great deal of useful information.

P. 510. l. 6. Here, they said, that was laid down for a principle, which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, &c.] All this is just and excellent, and on the principles of a free constitution.

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## VOL. III.

P. 58. l. 26. And it cannot be denied, but the people were every day visibly reformed in their understandings, from *the superstitious reverence they had paid the two houses.*] It could not hitherto (though it might from henceforth) be called a *superstitious reverence*, since it was founded in reason, parliaments having been their only protection against *despotism.*

P. 66. l. 18. and that the *keeping himself negatively* innocent, was as much as he owed his king and country.] The truth is, those worthy men (the only true patriots between a court and a country faction) were afraid that the suppression of the parliamentarians (whom they hated) by arms would have inflamed that spirit of despotism, yet unmortified in the king. Nothing appears more certain than this, from the letters of this *lord Spencer*, then earl of Sunderland, from the siege of Gloucester.

P. 67. l. 6. Whereas, *if he raised forces*, the parliament would procure themselves to be believed, that it was to overthrow religion, and *suppress the laws and liberties* of the

people.] He must have governed well, while such a provision for the personal safety would have been so interpreted by the people.

P. 68. l. 26. *many lords came to his majesty, and besought him*, that he would by no means publish that paper, but keep it in his own hands.] It is true, nothing can account for this, but pure fear of the overbearing power of parliament. But then it greatly recommends their integrity, and shews that nothing but the pure dictates of conscience could have force enough to draw them into so imminent danger of their persons, as was the supporting of the crown at this period. For yet they almost despaired of the king's being able to divide the kingdom with the parliament, which indeed he soon afterwards did.

P. 74. l. 13. *that the dangers, which they did not see, might proceed from causes which they did not understand.*] Admirable both in thought and expression.

P. 77. l. 7. *and so compel him to be waited upon only by such whom they should appoint and allow; and in whose presence he should be more miserably alone, than in desolation itself.*] This proved to be a description of what afterwards indeed happened.

P. 82. l. 22. but that I have heard some, who were the chief, if not the sole promoters of those violations.] Hollis.

P. 82. l. 26. out of the *ruptures* which have proceeded from their own animosities.] Between the presbyterian and independent parties in the house.

P. 84. l. 1. to all but *the most abstracted men from all vulgar considerations.*] i. e. those who preferred their duty and honour to all things.

P. 89. l. 11. *entire* men.] integer.

P. 93. l. 2. *So most men are deceived in being too reasonable.*] An excellent observation.

P. 97. l. 24. and not to be misled by the oration of those men, who were made desperate by their fortunes, or *their fortunes by them.*] i. e. in danger to forfeit what they had by treason.

P. 97. l. 29. that they were now at *the brink of the river*,

*and might draw their swords.*] Alluding to the passage of the Rubicon.

P. 115. l. 4. who saw the sovereignty of the sea now in other hands, that *were like to be more imperious upon the apprehension of any discourtesies, than regular and lawful monarchs used to be.*] This is a reflection which the subsequent conduct of the commonwealth and Oliver suggested, and which at that time it had been extravagant to make, the fact being unlikely and improbable.

P. 118. l. 24. except in great *towns and corporations,* where, besides the *natural malignity,* the factious lecturers and emissaries from the parliament had poisoned their affections.] These were certainly the first who felt the effects of arbitrary power, and its malignant influence on trade.

P. 144. l. 15. *the earl of Holland.*] One of the most corrupt and servile courtiers of that time. Despicable in his intellectual, but more despicable in his moral faculties.

P. 149. l. 23. that so many *very good men thought fit, at a time, when very many* hundreds of persons of honour and quality were imprisoned with all strictness and severity by the parliament.] The reason of this temper is apparent. The king, who in this case acted legally, had hardly ever done so before. And parliament, who now acted illegally, had till now made the law the measure of their actions.

P. 151. l. 15. And *so the war was now denounced.*] It was an idle question, though then much agitated, who began the war? The only material inquiry was, who *had reason to take up arms.* But when both king and parliament were so anxious to be found on the *defensive,* it was a strong presumption that neither side, in their secret sentiments, were entirely satisfied *in the purity of their conduct.*

P. 152. l. 17. they proceeded with the most *extravagant severity* that had been ever heard of.] Surely not extravagant, for policy requires that the severity of the exaction should always be in proportion to the illegality of the claim.

P. 157. l. 8. In the choice of which officers, whilst they *accused the king of a purpose to bring a foreign force, and of entertaining papists, they neither considered nation nor reli-*

*gion; but entertained all strangers and foreigners, of what religion soever.*] The circumstances of the quarrel enabled the parliament to do this without scandal, and therefore they did it. The same circumstances would have made the king's doing it exceeding scandalous, therefore he forbore it.

P. 158. l. 19. otherwise *unexperienced in action, and unacquainted with the mysteries and necessary policy of government; severe observers of the law, and as scrupulous in all matters relating to it.*] By this account, these were men who were jealous of the king for what had passed, (his principles being still the same,) and abhorred a factious parliament for their present illegalities. The inconveniencies to the king's cause, which the historian mentions, would certainly follow from things and men in this situation, but the blame ought to be laid on the true cause—the king's former evil administration.

P. 165. l. 6. that he *resolved to practise that virtue.*] Though Hotham's motive is here ingeniously deduced, I make no question but he acted thus to moderate the king's resentment, and to make a friend in that party, which the chance of war might occasion his standing in need of.

P. 167. l. 1. *All which ought, reasonably, to have been true in the practick, though it had very little ground in the speculation.*] This is very ill expressed. The meaning is, that though it was the true interest of princes to act in this manner, yet there were no kind of grounds to imagine they would so act.

P. 169. l. 16. As soon as the king, and the whole court, (for none remained at York,) came to Beverley, where they were *all accommodated.*] This shews the miserable temper of the king's court.

P. 190. l. 1. whose hearts were *alienated* from any reverence to the government.] This is well expressed. Perhaps more exactly than the noble historian intended.

P. 198. l. 27. *yet there were a people* of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, clothing, and other thriving arts, had gotten very great fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into the gentlemen's estates, were angry that

they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose estates they had, &c.] What a miserable reason is here given for the jealousy of the king and his actions, and the disaffection which it produced, when the true cause lay so open, the king's preceding arbitrary measures.

P. 199. l. 18. Whereas all the king's counsels were with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice *that was contracted against the court.*] A strong proof of the arbitrary administration in the first fourteen years of Charles's reign.

P. 199. l. 28. When the marquis was thus in the midst of an enemy *that almost covered the whole kingdom.*] The disaffection, by this confession, was general, and therefore must have as general a cause.

P. 216. l. 8. and *shall leave them to the justice of the parliament to be proceeded with* according to their demerit.] There cannot possibly be a stronger proof given that the parliament was now become a faction, and a faction of the most destructive nature. This declaration being the infallible means, and obvious to foresee, of attaching the far greater part of the nobility and gentry to the king's interest more firmly than ever. As they could not but foresee this, it is plain their quarrel was now with the monarchy itself.

P. 220. l. 16. not *much unlike* the emperor Trajan.] The unlikeness was in this, the king's declaration was not till *after* he had governed ill, the emperor's was *before*.

P. 220. l. 21. his majesty made this speech to his soldiers.] This speech is admirable, and has the advantage of most we meet with in historians, that it was really delivered, and not a fiction of the writer's.

P. 240. l. 25. and the *introducing of popish idolatry and superstition* in the church,—by sudden and *untimely dissolving* of former parliaments,—and, in prosecution of their wicked designs, *have excited, encouraged, and fostered an unnatural rebellion in Ireland.*] To hide their factious views,

which would not suffer them to acquiesce in the satisfaction the king had given them by his consent to several salutary laws, which were a secure barrier against the return of his arbitrary measures, they were forced to have recourse to popery and Irelandish massacres; neither of which could he be justly charged with.

P. 241. l. 16. as if you intended, *by conquest, to establish an absolute and unlimited power over them.*] Raising an army against the two houses was certainly with no other intent than to preserve himself. But had they performed that service, it is not unlikely but he would have required much more of them.

P. 242. l. 3. *if you shall not in all things concur with their wicked and traitorous courses.*] The truth was indeed just the reverse; for these *abettors of mischief* were so jealous of their master, and so apprehensive of his restoration by force of arms, that they constantly traversed the efforts of the military when they thought there was any danger of ending the war by conquest. By which policy they ruined their master.

P. 243. l. 23. they ordered, the same day, the mayor and sheriffs of London, *to search the houses*, &c.] Things were now brought to that pass, that the *cause of liberty* was defended by injustice, and the *cause of prerogative* by law. In other words, they had changed hands, the parliament was become arbitrary and despotic, and the king was forced to struggle for liberty.

P. 247. l. 5. To the *former* the lord Capel was sent; to the *latter*, John Ashburnham of the bedchamber, and of entire confidence with his master.] Lord Clarendon could hardly have used *former* and *latter* for one and the other. It looks therefore as if the names of these *two great men* were mentioned in the MS. and that the editors thought fit to omit them, but forgot to alter the subsequent expression conformable to that omission.

P. 270. l. 1. The earl of Lindsey was general of the whole army by his commission, and thought very equal to it. But when prince Rupert came to the king, which was

after the standard was set up, and received a commission to be general of the horse, which, all men knew, was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it, exempting him from receiving orders from any body but from the king himself.] The king gave here just such a specimen of his conduct in war, as he had long given in peace. His exempting this young boy from the command of the general, an old experienced soldier, encouraged that undisciplined vigour in the prince's military exploits, which ruined all the advantages of his uncle's arms. The first and early effects were the misfortunes attending the action of Edge-hill. Had the general not been disgusted by this exemption from his authority, he had acted in his post as general, and consequently not have left the king's foot naked, to be cut to pieces by the enemy's horse. But that disgust made him retire to the post of a private colonel, and charge at the head of his own regiment of foot, where he fell.

P. 278. l. 8. Whether this sudden accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of prince Rupert, and the king's horse, or all together, with their own *evil consciences*, wrought upon them, &c.] This might be truly said of the grandees of the house, but could with no pretence of reason or justice be said of this wing of horse.

P. 283. l. 4. All the advantage this seasonable recruit brought them, was to give their *old men* so much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwise believed, they would hardly have been persuaded to have done.] i. e. those who had been in the battle, so distinguished from the *new comers*.

P. 289. l. 25. Sir Edmund Verney hath *been mentioned before*.] This implies he had been characterized before; and so indeed he was: but in that part of the MS. from whence this history was extracted, which was thought rather belonging to the life of the noble historian. Those parts

have since been collected and published under that title, in which we find a curious anecdote relating to Verney.

P. 291. l. 11. But the king *had very ill fortune in conferring those graces*, nor was his service more passionately and insolently opposed by any men in that house than by those, who upon those professions were advanced by him from the condition of commoners.] He conferred them knowingly on undeserving men; so it was more his fault than his misfortune. But their ingratitude was attended with this inconvenience to the king. The people concluded, that the court must needs have very ruinous views, when the king's most obliged creatures fell from him. Whereas in truth that worthless tribe ran naturally, like rats, from distress.

P. 292. l. 7. on the other side, very many persons of quality, both of the clergy and laity, who had suffered under the imputation of puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very *approaches to rebellion*, that they renounced all their old friends, and applied themselves, &c.] They understood, and truly, that the king in this parliament had by his concurrence with many good acts, made a reasonable satisfaction for his former errors.

P. 294. l. 2. And so himself with his two sons went to Edgecot, where he lay the night before the battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his *wearied, and even tired men*, &c.] Not only *wearied* in this action, but *tired* of the service.

P. 295. l. 28. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered *a strange cheerfulness* into all men, that there were not in that battle *lost above three hundred men at most*.] How is this to be reconciled with what is said in page 286, where it is said five thousand fell in the action, of which one third were the king's? It is no wonder this should occasion, as the historian expresses it, *a strange cheerfulness*.

P. 298. l. 9. *The earl of Essex continued still at Warwick.*] The reason of this unaccountable conduct in Essex was owing to the old soldiers of fortune, by whom he was governed. In the beginning of the war, they hindered the parliamentarians from coming to a decisive action for the sake of their trade. When the war was become more serious, the king's counsellors hindered a decisive action for the sake of public liberty. Yet till one or other conquered, *peace* was a visionary thing.

P. 299. l. 15. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, &c.] In the year 1741, or thereabout, I had a conversation with the duke of Argyle and lord Cobham, concerning the conduct of Essex and the king after the battle of Edge-hill. They said Essex, instead of retiring to Coventry, should either have pushed the king, or attended him closely: that since he neglected that, and went back so far north, the king should have marched hastily to London, and ended the war at a blow: that as lord Clarendon represents it, the conduct of both is incomprehensible. I think the matter very clear. Essex's views and principles would not suffer him to destroy the king, because the constitution would fall with him; and this he loved. This appears evidently from Whitlock, who says, that the next day after the battle, three fresh regiments, one of horse and two of foot, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, Hollis, and Hambden, joined him, who all urged him to pursue the king; but he took Dalbier's advice to the contrary. On the other hand, the king's best friends dreaded his ending the war by conquest, as knowing his despotic disposition. And these dissuaded the marching up to London, which lord Clarendon tells us was debated in council.

P. 301. l. 8. And though it was evident enough that he had *run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither.*] Exquisitely satirical.

P. 302. l. ult. *though they might be secured.*] This is loosely expressed. Did these grandees believe they might be secured, or does the historian assure us that they would? If the first, it is certain they did not confide in the king's

security offered to them, as appears throughout their whole conduct.

P. 305. l. 10. And by this means *many children were engaged in the service.*] Had this been done in the distresses which followed, it might have been pardoned by candid men; but to do it now, although they gained by making things and persons desperate, yet it must appear to all dispassionate observers to be a throwing off the mask too soon.

P. 327. l. 4. *without any direction* from the king.] He seems to have done it for no other reason than to break off the treaty. He was a soldier of fortune, and loved the service, and his whole conduct was conformable to that character. In a word, the king was ruined by his ministers in peace, and by his officers in war. But he who certainly most contributed to the ill success of his arms was prince Rupert; and this was one of the most mischievous as well as barbarous of his exploits. In this affair, if the king's sole purpose was to disengage prince Rupert's horse on Hounslow heath, why did he advance to Hounslow with his foot, and force the barricades of the town defended by the parliament's foot? I doubt he was not so clear in his purpose as his historian represents him.

P. 329. l. 23. and that the king had so great a party in every regiment, that they would have *made no resistance.*] Those who read how the city train-bands behaved in the second battle of Newbury will hardly be of this opinion.

P. 330. l. 5. The constitution of their forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the company they were in, being a good argument to them not to charge the king, which had been an ill one to him to charge them.] The observation is just. Inclination to the opposite party would make soldiers charge weakly and unwillingly; but when they were charged, both honour and safety would make them defend themselves with vigour.

P. 339. l. 8. *Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall,* publicly avowed, &c.] This, if true, was a most villainous profanation of their ministry. The king and parliament were now on the footing of civil enemies. And such an oath, taken

by prisoners of war, in consideration of liberty, has always been held binding by the law of nations, and by the law of arms so sacred, that the violators of it are held by military men to be ignominious.

P. 363. l. 21. *indemnities.*] Immunities.

P. 364. l. 15. it may be, the *politic considerations in those concessions, and connivances, were neither made use of, nor understood.*] The historian could never have made this observation without having a very poor opinion of Charles's ministers of state, whether ecclesiastical or lay.

P. 364. l. 19. Some few years before these troubles, when the power of churchmen grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of the lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, (*for, without the last, the first could have done no hurt.*)] This is a true observation, which might be carried through all the ages of the church.

P. 365. l. 25. *And, that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the civil policy of the kingdom,* &c.] He means, that the world might see that this new policy was for the sake of the church, not the state; the English ambassador at Paris broke communion with them.

P. 367. l. 7. but having too just cause given them to *dislike the passion.*] The doctrine of resistance.

P. 367. l. 12. that the total *declining the interest of that party.*] i. e. persecuting them.

P. 367. l. 18. and that *both parties,* &c.] Papists and church of England.

P. 367. l. 19. might, *if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness,* &c.] In other words, a comprehension between popery and the church of England.

P. 368. l. 3. neither of them discerning the true and substantial grounds of that *policy.*] All this while the true religious policy of toleration (on which doubtless the first reformers went) is forgot.

P. 375. l. 28. *Other grievances,* &c.] Ship-money.

P. 478. l. 28. *irreverence.*] Irreligion.

P. 379. l. 7. The public faith—can never die, *never be bankrupt.*] This state aphorism will now, since the debt of

one hundred and fifty millions sterling, begin to be brought in question.

P. 406. l. 17. And that your majesty will be graciously pleased to give your royal assent unto a bill, *for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion.*] There cannot be a stronger proof that all their pretence of taking up arms for the preservation of the rights of subjects and citizens was a mere farce, than this wicked request, the violation of all law, divine and human. For these leaders in parliament were well acquainted with the rights of conscience.

P. 407. l. 24. and that all these, and all the judges of the same courts, for the time to come, may hold their places by letters patents under the great seal, *quamdiu se bene gesserint.*] Had they really not been factious, and resolved to change the regal power, they would have been content to make that reasonable demand, that the judges should hold their places, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and confined themselves to that only in this 8th article.

P. 411. l. penult. *their laws, liberties, privileges, and safety of parliament, were so amply settled, and established, or offered to be so by his majesty.*] Nothing was more true than this assertion. And to estimate the merits in this quarrel, this truth must be always kept in mind.

P. 413. l. 27. with such clauses for the *ease of tender consciences*, as his majesty hath formerly offered.] How much hath the king in this article the advantage of the parliament in their 5th, in which is the execrable clause of *educating the children of papists!*

P. 414. l. 21. by his *governing according to the known laws of the land.*] The king, in all his papers of appeal to the people against this faction of a parliament, carefully avoids touching upon his preceding arbitrary government, but appears willing the people should believe that he always governed by law. This seems to have been ill policy in his council. The people both saw and felt his ill government. The confessing it would have gone a great way to persuade them, that now he had seen his error, he would

be disposed to govern better; whereas the acknowledging no fault, gave no room for hopes of amendment.

P. 416. l. 15. whose very good *reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute and unavoidable necessity.*] i. e. their military reputation was so good, as to make it be believed that it was impossible for them to hold out longer than they did.

P. 417. l. 13. whereof *Warnford.*] Of Bibury.

P. 417. l. 19. The town yielded much plunder, from which the undistinguishing soldier could not be kept, &c.] A curious and well chosen and well related instance of the miseries attending civil distractions.

P. 418. l. 30. *There was in this county, as throughout the whole kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the court; yet a full submission, and love of the established government of church and state.*] It was impossible for the historian to give a stronger proof of the king's ill government, and the endeavours of the several parliaments to maintain the people's rights, than this prejudice of a brave and honest people, which at the same time bore a reverence for the constitution both of church and state.

P. 419. l. 28. *which must be an answer to all those oversights and omissions, which posterity will be apt to impute to the king, in the morning of these distractions.*] The observance of this rule hindered the king from making a sufficient provision for his defence in the beginning of the war; and the violation of it towards the conclusion, presently destroyed that provision that had been made.

P. 422. l. 22. *so the extreme superstition to it* as soon dissolved it.] But by all this it appears that these loyal Cornish men, with all their reverence for the constitution of church and state, had little regard to the general quarrel. They only wanted to provide for themselves in peace in that sequestered corner. But they were soon wakened from this flattering dream.

P. 425. l. 12. *the king granted a commission* jointly to his lordship, sir Ralph Hopton, &c.] This was of a piece

with all the rest of the court conduct throughout the prosecution of the war.

P. 426. l. 19. deep winter.] Deep of winter.

P. 431. l. 10. falling upon *Chagford.*] Midway between Tavistock and Exeter.

P. 431. l. 27. and by too forward engaging himself in this last, received a mortal shot by a musket.] By his will he left Hobbes, with whom he was intimate, 200*l.* in esteem of his great parts, not his principles.

P. 434. l. 8. and *the earl of Stamford himself* seemed so ingenuous.] This was politicly done of the earl of Stamford and his party, for they were distressed by the successes of those of Cornwall. But the gentlemen there on the other side would certainly never have consented to a neutrality at this juncture, could they have overcome what lord Clarendon calls the *superstition*, and I the *absurdity*, of the common people of Cornwall.

P. 436. l. 10. *And truly, I believe.*] The historian's reason for his belief could be only this, that, if all the king's friends had appeared ready for service together, so formidable a power would have confined the parliament within peaceful limits. But he did not consider the friends of parliament were as backward, and that the appearance of their enemies would have brought them likewise forward, so the balance would soon have been even.

P. 436. l. 27. the *fatal disease* of the whole kingdom at this time.] But a disease arising from the long preceding corruptions of the court.

P. 437. l. 17. *and concluding, as the other did.*] The noble historian confesses this was the case of both parties; he says that they concluded alike, that *the decision between the king and parliament would be at the first encounter.*

P. 438. l. 8. reprehending the lord Fairfax.] The general argument in this reprehension is very solid; nothing being more unjust and absurd than such partial neutralities in a quarrel that concerns the whole. It is true, the parliament was much more concerned to discountenance them than the king, since the cause of the parliament could be only sup-

ported by extraordinary measures, which an inflamed and enthusiastic temper only will engage in; and when this is suffered to cool by a neutrality, all is in danger: Whereas the other party following and relying upon established law and custom, a neutrality gives new force to their operations, which had been weakened by the bold impingments on them.

P. 440. l. 3. Upon so great a disadvantage were the king's party in all places, &c.] This might be true in fact, but it makes nothing against what I here say of these neutralities.

P. 440. l. 13. The present disadvantage of this rupture, &c.] The rupture was more disadvantageous to the royalists than to the parliamentarians, for the reason given above, as well as for the reasons here urged by the noble historian.

P. 441. l. 6. Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns, (which depending wholly upon *clothiers too much maligned the gentry,*) were wholly at their disposition.] It is true, this is too much the general disposition of rich manufacturers; but I believe in civil dissensions, men take their party on more substantial and affecting motives. Nothing is more baleful to trade and commerce than arbitrary government. It is no wonder then that the trading communities should think those pretended patrons of liberty in parliament were their natural protectors.

P. 443. l. ult. who, *by the queen's favour.*] This was not one of the least of the mischiefs she caused to the king by her pragmatic temper, always busy and overbearing.

P. 447. l. 29. *And it fared in those counties as in all other parts of the kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still was greater than of those who desired to engage in either party; so that they were generally inclined to articles of neutrality.*] There cannot be a stronger proof than this, that the body of the people of England thought that the king had made ample amends for his ill government, by his passing so many salutary laws before the two parties had recourse to arms.

P. 449. l. 23. The town of Manchester had, from the beginning, (out of that *factious humour which possessed most corporations; and the pride of their wealth,*) opposed the king, &c.] In other words, love of liberty for the sake of trade.

P. 452. l. 9. The difference in the temper of the common people of both sides was so great, &c.] The reason of this different temper is evident; the royalists had the constitution and the established laws on their side, so all they had to fear in adhering to them was, not to irritate the parliament by an over active prosecution of them; whereas the parliamentarians acting in an extraordinary [way], not authorized by the established laws, had no other way to save themselves harmless but by subduing the constitution, which required vigour and activity.

P. 455. l. 12. that it should be upon *St. Chad's day.*] Unworthy of the historian's remembrance.

P. 455. l. 24. Whether his *passions* or *conscience* swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of church and state.] i. e. whether resentment of the injustice of ruling churchmen and arbitrary ministers, or the persuasion that episcopacy in the church, and monarchy in the state, were not the best forms of government to procure those blessings of which society is productive.

P. 456. l. 7. *by which many persons became prisoners, of too good quality to have their names remembered.*] This was only said as a mark of indignation, not seriously, as if there was any solid reason why an impartial historian should have his scruples to mention their names.

P. 457. l. 29. So that his own horse (*according to their unhappy practice*) with too much fury pursuing the chase, he was left encompassed by his enemies.] In this practice the *courage* was as questionable as the *discipline* was faulty: for it was to avoid returning to the charge against unbroken bodies of the enemy.

P. 460. l. 4. *which was not so well then understood.*] By this the historian seems to suppose, that the papers he

wrote in the king's name, and for the king's cause, while at York, had opened the people's eyes, and he did not judge too partially of the effects of them.

P. 461. l. 9. Their answer to this was as unreasonable as the other; "that they would neither send the body, nor "permit his chirurgeons to come to embalm it."] Incredibly base.

P. 464. l. 6. This was *a very great offer.*] As *great* as it was, it should in common prudence have been refused at this juncture, when the king had fairly divided the kingdom with his enemies. After the fatal battle of Naseby indeed, when the king was forced to fly for refuge into Wales, and was received by the marquis of Worcester, such an acceptance of service from the papists might be excused. But till such an extremity, the king's council should have considered there was an extreme great difference between taking an able officer of that persuasion into his service, and receiving the assistance, of what his enemies, without much violation of truth or candour, might call a *popish army.*

P. 468. l. 25. having made no other *use of his conquests, than the dishonouring so many places.*] This doubtless was of considerable use to the parliament, at a time when the king's horse were thought to be irresistible.

P. 469. l. 20. *that the king always looked upon it, as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked rebellion,* that ever possessed the spirits of that people.] This I verily believe, nor is it at all inconsistent with his first drawing out of Ireland many of the forces then fighting against the Irish rebels; and afterwards bringing over the rebels themselves to support his cause against his English rebels.

P. 474. l. 26. And so they *continued in his quarters,* and put themselves into the troops.] It had surely at this time been more prudent to have banished them his presence, or confined them prisoners in his garrisons, than to employ them in his armies.

Page 476. l. 9. For the *king and queen* grew every day less satisfied with him.] A language well adapted to the uxorious temper and conduct of the king.

P. 477. l. 2. his *misfortune* at court.] i. e. want of credit.

P. 477. l. 13. and then, *without waiting again on the king.*] He must have ill consulted his safety in so doing, if what the historian says of his interest at court (just above) be true, when he left the king between Nottingham and Shrewsbury. And yet he had given fresh offence after that by staying so long in the enemy's quarters.

P. 481. l. 20. and indeed a man *so accomplished*, that he had either no enemies, or such who were ashamed to profess they were so.] And yet this accomplished man (for indeed he was such) acted by his old friend in his distresses, when ruined by Charles the Second's wicked crew of courtiers, in so paltry a manner, as was a disgrace to his character. See Carte's Collection of Letters, written at that time.

P. 485. l. 4. And at this time, the number of those in both houses, who really desired *the same peace the king did.*] Insinuating that the king desired a peace upon terms by which the public liberty might be secured. This is true, if by the king was meant the king's council.

P. 485. l. 20. their *natural inconstancy even in ill.*] This was the true character of many; at the head of which class was earl Holland.

P. 537. l. 5. *This was the first avowed interruption and suspension of the public justice.*] For the parliament to consent to the holding assizes and gaol-delivery, *flagrante bello*, and when the sword was appealed to, was not only confessing the injustice of their cause, but contributing to the punishment of it.

P. 541. l. 2. the *humour* of the court.] i. e. arbitrary power.

P. 541. l. 5. against *the government established.*] Meaning church government.

P. 541. l. 6. before he suspected their *blacker designs.*] Meaning against monarchy.

P. 542. l. 12. He had great dislike of the *high courses.*] i. e. arbitrary courses.

P. 542. l. 15. for some *exorbitant* proceedings.] Tyrannical.

P. 543. l. 14. so no man had *more melancholy apprehensions* of the issue of [the war.] This is the state in which the noble historian represents all those excellent men who adhered to the king after he had given satisfaction to public liberty, and who before that had either opposed the court, or been ill used by it. Now from whence could arise the *melancholy apprehensions* of these men, but their foreseeing that, which ever side conquered, public liberty would be destroyed, and therefore were always labouring in vain to end the quarrel by treaty and convention.

P. 546. l. 3. the lord Digby; who shortly after came to sit there as secretary of state, and had not that reverence for his father's wisdom, which his great experience deserved, though he failed not in his piety towards him.] The father had contracted the Spanish gravity, the son was born with the French vivacity; so it was no wonder he had not much reverence for his father's *wisdom.* But that he preserved a filial *piety* to him is to be ascribed to his grandeur of mind.

P. 549. l. penult. Secretary Nicholas was a very honest and industrious man, &c.] Nothing can give one a higher idea of the virtue and integrity of this great historian (as well as of his incomparable eloquence) than his characters. Secretary Nicholas was his bosom friend, and never forfeited his good opinion; yet he would say nothing of his parts, because, in truth, he could not. Yet he is very lavish in the praise of great parts wherever they were found, though in his greatest personal enemies.

P. 562. l. 1. *The earl of Manchester.*] Lord Kimbolton.

P. 562. l. 6. *loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness.*] i. e. was too violent in his resentments against a court which was oppressing it.

P. 563. l. 15. *and from particular instances to make general and dangerous conclusions.*] Whenever a king attempts to overthrow public liberty, the attempt can never be detected but by *drawing general conclusions from particular instances;* and without reliance on this sort of logic, no opposition to such an attempt can be justified.

P. 565. l. 16. *His parts were not quick.*] His *reading* a long speech of several hours in the house of lords, occasioned a standing order that no lord should read a written speech.

P. 567. l. 1. for whose sakes only he had brought that *infamy* upon himself.] i. e. the minutes of the council-board, procured for the managers in the prosecution against the earl of Strafford.

P. 568. l. 1. His malice to the earl of Strafford, who had unwisely provoked him, *wantonly*, &c.] By taking the title of *Raby*.

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## VOL. IV.

P. 8. l. 16. It *is evident* to all men where the difference now lay between them.] It is evident that the king treated the parliament as if he had subdued them, only granting them an amnesty.

P. 16. l. 18. *for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion.*] His majesty was much more careful that his own rights should not be violated, than that the rights of nature should be observed.

P. 17. l. 10. To this message the two houses returned *no answer* to the king.] It was no wonder. This was the most unguarded step the king ever made throughout the course of the war.

P. 17. l. 25. Many were of opinion, that the king was *too severe in this treaty.*] Well they might. In an equal treaty, when made by the parties sword in hand, were not concessions to be made on both sides, if a peace was desired by either? But this unhappily was not the case. While the hopes of each party were equal, the talk of treaties and of peace was only to cajole the people who languished after it; and each was to affect to labour after it, to throw the public odium on their adversaries.

P. 19. l. 24. I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a peace, *or given the king any advan-*

*tage, or benefit in the war: what inconvenience* it might have produced hath been touched before.] This advantage it would certainly have given him: it would have shewn the people that he was ready to sacrifice his own interest for their sake, by procuring them what they so much wanted, *a peace.* The *inconvenience* it would have produced, was the displeasing perhaps some of the most powerful of his self-interested and factious followers.

P. 22. l. 5. would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a *present peace, and the king to his just rights and authority.*] Certainly not. But because the king could not get all by this treaty, was he to neglect the getting any thing? And he certainly would have got a great deal, by shewing the people that he was ready to sacrifice a great deal for them.

P. 22. l. 19. if they had meant any *reasonable concessions.*] Reasonable concessions? Why the king had made none; and that I suppose they foresaw.

P. 24. l. 10. The soldiers without were, for the most part, newly levied, *and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns.*] And in this ignorance they continued throughout the whole war. For marshal Turenne, in his Mémoires, tells us, that the six thousand brave English foot which Cromwell sent the French, to assist at the siege of Dunkirk, were mere savages in the knowledge of such a service.

P. 26. l. 25. It was reported, that the *officers of horse in the council* were all for a storm, and the *foot officers* for approaching.] This is slily said in reproach of Essex's army. For in a storm the foot were to make way for the horse. So the former were exposed to all the slaughter, and the latter shared in all the honour of the success.

P. 27. l. 11. there being fewer lost by that service *than will be believed.*] This shews their total ignorance in the service.

P. 31. l. 10. *affected* disloyalty.] Meaning affectionate.

P. 35. l. 9. whereof the *lord Digby.*] Lord Digby's pur-

pose in being of this party was to pay his court to the queen.

P. 42. l. 29. than giving up those poor men, *who, out of conscience* of their rebellion.] I make no doubt but these deserters from both armies were the greatest scoundrels in them, and the least swayed by conscience.

P. 46. l. ult. *I do believe him* to have been free from any base compliance with the enemy.] In other words, *I believe him to be unjustly condemned;* and so will every one who admits this representation of the case to be a true one.

P. 52. l. 18. yet so far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, *that the house of commons raged more furiously than ever.*] This was consequential. The leaders in the house of commons wanted some extraordinary security against the king's vindictive temper on his return to power; and the last treaty had shewn that he would not give it to them; so they grew resolved that the sword should decide all.

P. 53. l. 27. Since his majesty's message of the 12th of April, in which he conceived he had made *such an overture,* &c.] A mere farce to cajole the people. 'He could never imagine that, when he had granted nothing, the calling that nothing an *overture for composing the public distractions* could give the parliament any inclination to comply with what he wanted: but, as appears by page 68. there was another purpose in it, the better by this means to carry on the correspondence between the king and his friends in the parliament and the city.

P. 55. l. 24. *that house was so far from concurring with them.*] It was no wonder they were a little out of humour for being thus bantered.

P. 61. l. 4. and, *being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force, or to resist it.*] From these words it appears, that this was as much a plot against the parliament at Westminster, in which force was to be employed, as any plot could be. It is therefore

surprising that the noble historian could say, so few lines after, that the whole design was only to oppose the petitioners against peace, by petitioning the parliament for it.

P. 62. l. 2. And it may be, some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischief by it.] This is a miserable way of evading the evidence, that the plotters intended force.

P. 62. l. 25. and if there had, they *would have published such a relation of it.*] If the parliament had only *published* the circumstances, which the noble historian here delivers as fact, it would have been sufficient to have convinced all impartial men that the plotters intended force.

P. 66. l. 3. How this commission was discovered, *I could never learn.*] What more easy? Would not Mr. Tomkins's well disposed citizens naturally confer with sir Nicholas Crisp's? And would this commission remain an uncommunicable secret between them? But the historian goes upon what he would have his reader believe, that Tomkins and Crisp knew nothing of one another's plot.

P. 68. l. 16. *they kneaded both into one plot* and conspiracy.] One would wonder the noble historian should be so solicitous to discredit this plot; since this was fair war, and only counterplotting the plotters. But the king's reputation with the public was so bad, that plotting against a parliament in arms against him, was understood to be an indication that he wanted to resume his exercise of arbitrary power.

P. 70. l. 26. and, with assistance of the king's force, *to awe and master the parliament.*] It was a thing surely to be wished by all who loved the established constitution, that this faction of a parliament should be destroyed; but then they would wish it to be done by a lover of public liberty, which few at that time thought the king was.

P. 72. l. 7. a popish and *traitorous plot for the subversion of the true protestant reformed religion.*] Just such another farce as the king's last message for peace.

P. 74. l. 23. by the industry of their *clergy*.] There was

without doubt many a lay rogue amongst these patrons of liberty. But none of them came near their clergy in malignity, corruption, hypocrisy, and impiety.

P. 77. l. 3. No man can imagine, that if the king could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, &c.] This is said with a great deal of good sense. Tampering with the army in the north, when the parliament was beginning their redress of grievances, was to be condemned; but now the king and parliament were formed into two parties, and both agreed to appeal to the sword, the king's attempt to disperse the parliament in this manner was justifiable policy.

P. 80. l. 1. *Many men observed*, &c.] The recording of these superstitions of the times, except where they had an influence on the public affairs, is unworthy so great an historian.

P. 92. l. 8. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced *him*.] For *him*, the historian should have said *his cause*.

P. 95. l. 2. and a hand to execute, *any mischief*.] By *mischief*, the historian means no more than *reducing the king's arbitrary by force*, [so MS.]; which, on the historian's principles, was a matter altogether unlawful. This sense of the word *mischief* makes all the parts of this fine drawn *character* consistent. For every line shews that the historian believed him to be a man of honour and virtue, acting on wrong principles. As to the historian's account, that he grew more *fierce* after his *accusation*, this may be easily accounted for, without ascribing it to personal resentment. Mr. Hambden saw how obstinately the king struggled against all reform of his arbitrary measures; of which, the accusing the five members was one of many flagrant instances of this truth. He was led to think there was a necessity to use force for the securing what they had got. This was surely a mistake; but such a mistake as an honest man might commit.

P. 99. l. 1. Next them, on *the* left hand.] *Their;* i.e. on the left hand of Slanning and Trevannion; for the left hand

of the south was the west, and the left hand of the north was the east; so the hill would be assaulted by these four divisions on the four quarters.

P. 99. l. 11. to take any advantage he could of the *enemy*, if they charged.] That this was the historian's meaning appears from the next page, where he says, their few horse might have done great service.

P. 104. l. 26. *said much that was disadvantageous to the court.*] By the character the historian here gives of young Chudleigh, we must conclude he confessed nothing but the truth; and if this was very disadvantageous to the court, we must conclude that plot was not so harmless a one as the historian, in the former part of his history, has represented it.

P. 107. l. 16. *This put some persons upon desiring*, that prince Maurice, &c.] Another strong misconduct of the king, in his fondness for this unhappy family.

P. 109. l. 13. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, &c.] Great injustice to the Cornish.

P. 113. l. 27. insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at *a dear ransom.*] Every now and then a story comes out which shews the court to have been exceeding tyrannical, and abates all our wonder at the rage and malice of those who had been oppressed by it. It is a moot point which did the king most mischief, his court servants, whom he unreasonably indulged, or his country subjects, whom he as unreasonably oppressed. Gratitude had not the same influence on the affections of his servants, which thirst of revenge had on those who had been oppressed by their master.

P. 120. l. 25. beat up a regiment *of horse and dragoons of sir James Hamilton's, and dispersed them.*] This was the disorderly regiment which was sent for out of Devonshire, on account of the hurt they did there to the king's cause; and this was a fate very likely to attend their irregularities.

P. 125. l. 7. that no accident which happened could

make any *impressions in him;* and his example kept others from *taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so.*] It appears from what the historian all along observes, that these Cornish troops, to whom the king owed so much, (and, had they been well used, would have owed a great deal more,) had great reason to complain of the ill return their services met with from the court and court favourites.

P. 127. l. 18. which joined *about Bath, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three.*] Pryn, the *utter barrister of Swanswick,* had done much to spread this disaffection.

P. 127. l. 29. which were *at best* weary.] Their license, and Haslerig's cuirassiers, had lessened both their discipline and their courage.

P. 138. l. 1. *This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the king met the queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill.*] This observation was more becoming a small paltry courtier, than this great historian.

P. 138. l. 10. and this transport to either extremes was *too natural* upon the vicissitudes of the war.] Too natural for courts, where the mind is always found, or made unbalanced. Meaning, without doubt, prince Rupert himself.

P. 139. l. 13. by the *conjuncture.*] Conjunction.

P. 141. l. 4. so the marquis and prince Maurice *returned to Bath.*] i. e. from Oxford, whither they had gone to attend the council of war.

P. 157. l. 7. for all the *pressures and inconveniences* they had borne.] The robberies of arbitrary power. These were indeed solidly *repaired* by the *excellent laws* he speaks of. But the doing all this with a very bad grace, and the ill opinion that was entertained of his sincerity, gave the enemies of the constitution credit for their very worst designs.

P. 160. l. 8. by their memory of that *excellent peace and firm happiness.*] How is this consistent with the *pressures* and *inconveniences* which, in this very declaration, he owns the subject had felt during his reign, before the calling of this last parliament?

P. 161. l. 8. *Revenge* and blood-thirstiness have never

been imputed to us, &c.] The *revenge* his enemies charged him with at one time, and the *forgiveness* he boasts of at another, were very consistent.

P. 162. l. 21. prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the king's should be lieutenant general to the marquis, &c.] He took to heart what doubtless had been infused into it by the uncle himself. A ray of royalty in the court notions of that time diffused itself through all the branches of the sacred stem: otherwise, how could it possibly be thought, that a mere soldier of fortune, a foreigner, scarce of age, was hardly dealt with, or degraded, in being appointed lieutenant general to an English nobleman of the first quality and credit, who was made general of an army that was to be raised and kept together by his own interest in the country, and much at the expense of his own noble fortune?

P. 164. l. 2. He had passed his word to his nephew, *of whom he was very tender.*] Had the king been always as *tender* of his word, as he was of the follies of those nearest to him, he had never been reduced to these straits.

P. 165. l. 6. And these thought.] His country friends.

P. 165. l. 13. Others again were of opinion.] His court friends.

P. 165. l. 25. as his courage and *conduct* had been very prosperous to the king.] He had only fought one pitched battle, that of Edge-hill, and that he lost by his eminent misconduct. The like misconduct afterwards lost him the battle of Marston Moor.

P. 172. l. 10. *yet he discerned plainly that the prince* and the marquis would never agree together.] All may discern plainly that the king did it to humour prince Maurice, in his impotent passion for being a general.

P. 172. l. 14. *that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army, than by the persuasions of his counsel.*] This gives us a glimmering of what was to be expected, now success ran high, if the king's arms should prevail.

P. 173. l. 10. yet they thought the prince's inexperience

of the customs and manners of England, and *an aversion from considering them*, &c.] This we see in the last page was the very reason for the king's preferring the prince to the marquis.

P. 173. l. 25. *a greater tide of good* fortune had attended that expedition.] This is honestly confessed.

P. 177. l. 10. but if the king himself came with his army, and summoned it, he would not hold it against him.] Massey evidently said this to draw the king's army before Gloucester, and to gain himself honour and advancement in the service by a brave defence.

P. 185. l. 7. discovery.] Disposition.

P. 186. l. ult. the *seditious preachers* filled all the pulpits with alarms of ruin and destruction to the city, &c.] Thus the presbyterian clergy became the instruments of the overthrow of the constitution.

P. 191. l. 22. which *many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the earl.*] i. e. many of the king's court, who were of the party or faction of the marquis.

P. 191. l. ult. which hath been since prosecuted, with effect, to a *worse purpose.*] When the seceders of parliament went to the army under Fairfax and Cromwell.

P. 193. l. penult. by his staying with his army before Gloucester.] It is certain this was a false step. Had the disorders and divisions in London been between men who had the same *end*, and differed only in the *means*, the approach of a common enemy would have united them. But as their end as well as means was different, the king's approach would have quite broke them to pieces, and reestablished his own power. The not seeing this difference in the king's council must give one a very indifferent idea either of their sense or sobriety.

P. 196. l. 30. notwithstanding that the *queen herself* writ so importunately against it.] This was the first good counsel I find of her giving. But we see, by p. 201. that it was out of no public motive.

P. 201. l. 5. that the king was *betrayed.*] No further

than by the soldiery's desiring the continuance of the war.

P. 201. l. 24. who was the *most incapable* of any such apprehensions.] Which had brought him into this condition, and soon reduced him to a worse.

P. 201. l. 25. and had her majesty in so *perfect an adoration.*] Were there no other proof, this very strange expression shews how much the noble historian condemned the king's uxorious folly.

P. 202. l. 30. and expected to be as much, it may be, more made of, than they who had *borne the heat of the day.*] They were afraid of having too many sharers in the king's good fortune.

P. 203. l. 17. who seldom spoke without *some earnestness.*] i. e. on some pressing occasion. For this is the sense of the words, which have the face of a very different meaning.

P. 206. l. 19. *He was a man of honour, and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improving his estate.*] The exact character of his son, the late duke of Newcastle, and the first of the name of Holles.

P. 210. l. 13. but pure compliance with the *ill humour of the town.*] Nothing more shews the innate corruption of courtiers, than this ill humour on this occasion.

P. 214. l. 6. *which the earl of Carnarvon,—took so ill,—given out to be greater than it was.*] How could he say so, when he had but just before told us how lord Carnarvon resented it? But, as usual, he was tender of these foreign branches of the royal house. But that these injustices were chiefly to be laid at the door of the foreign officers, appears pretty plain by the familiar use of the German word *plunder*, then first introduced into the English tongue.

P. 219. l. 7. and that nobody saw *above six* of the enemy, that charged them.] These were the officers who charged with sir J. Digby in the front of the horse.

P. 222. l. 4. the *flexibility* and *instability* of that gentleman's nature.] There was much both of intrigue and whim in the character of this first earl of Shaftsbury.

P. 222. l. 13. *he would not, to please the marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public disobligation and affront upon his nephew.*] Had the king been as able in politics, as he was in the episcoparian squabbles, he would have sent this nephew back to Germany, after all the disorders he had countenanced, and the disaffection he had thereby created to the king's cause in the west.

P. 225. l. 12. yet the king had neither money nor *materials requisite for a siege.*] This shews the reason of *Chillingworth's* activity there in inventing military machines for the service, and for which he was so much abused by those miserable rascals, the presbyterian pulpit incendiaries.

P. 230. l. 8. *prince Rupert himself staying* with the body of horse.] Here, where generalship was required, prince Rupert could do nothing worthy of his name.

P. 231. l. 21. and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the *indisposition* that possessed the whole army, &c.] Their indisposition should have been pointed against the earl of Essex, who raised the siege, and on whom a brave and vigilant enemy might have had its revenge.

P. 236. l. 11. *of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms.*] A most judicious observation, which later times have abundantly supported. Skippon had disciplined these men in the Artillery Garden ever since the first beginning of the quarrel.

P. 239. l. 18. who, having no command in the army, attended upon the king's person, under the *obligation of honour.*] These are lord Sunderland's own words to his wife, from the king's camp, in 1642: "The king's condition is "much improved of late, which increaseth the insolency of "the papists. Neither is there wanting daily handsome oc-"casion to retire, were it not for *grinning honour*. For let "occasion be never so handsome, unless a man were re-"solved to fight on the parliament side, (which, for my "part, I had rather be hanged,) it will be said, without "doubt, that a man is afraid to fight. If there could be "an expedient found to salve the *punctilio of honour*, I

" would not continue here an hour." Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 667.

P. 241. l. 7. a person of such *prodigious parts of learning and knowledge.*] So says this wise historian; but an historian wiser than he, the honourable Mr. Horace Walpole, in his Lives of royal and noble authors, says, this noble lord was a weak man, and of very mean and ordinary parts.

P. 244. l. 26. he harboured, it may be, *some jealousy and prejudice to the court.*] Did he not, he could never be the man his historian here represents him.

P. 224. l. 27. he was not *before* immoderately inclined.] i. e. *before the last short parliament.* But lord Falkland himself, in his printed speeches in the *last long* parliament, gives a better reason for his indisposition to the court, than his father's ill success there as a *courtier of fortune.*

P. 245. l. 23. that an *endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason.*] As much as to say, Strafford did indeed *endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom.* If this was true, his punishment was certainly most just. An endeavour to overthrow a society, must needs, from the very nature and end of society, be a capital crime. It is not treason to this or that state, but to all community in general.

P. 246. l. 20. his answers were more negligent, and *less satisfactory.*] Without doubt *little satisfactory* to a monarch unwilling even then to part with illegal powers his parliament was wresting from him.

P. 246. l. penult. as more than an *ordinary averseness to his service.*] Hitherto he plainly entertained violent suspicions of the court; nay, he seems to have done so to the last: and if his amiable friend, the young lord Sunderland, was not mistaken in the picture he draws of the court a few weeks before this battle, in which they both fell, not without reason.

P. 250. l. 17. *good nature.*] i. e. virtuous disposition.

P. 253. l. 14. and though he received *some repulse* in the

command of a troop of horse.] I suppose on account of his declared indisposition to the court.

P. 259. l. 14. every one accusing another of *want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights.*] And these complaints were well founded.

P. 261. l. 2. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours, or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires *from the king*, made their modesty an argument of their merit *to the queen.*] The king had promised the queen not to confer honours and offices without her participation.

P. 263. l. 28. But the queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, *or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers.*] The public misfortunes could not yet cure her of her former errors.

P. 265. l. 2. *who did not wish to see the court just filled as it had been, or the queen herself possessed of so absolute a power.*] This plainly intimates, that all these distractions made no change in the king and queen's dispositions. How then can we wonder that the heads of the other party dare not trust them? Hence arose the fatal necessity of pushing things to extremity.

P. 266. l. 12. The earl had a friend.] Mr. Hyde himself.

P. 270. l. 20. and that the *papists had so great a power* there.] If you will believe lord Sunderland, in his letter to his lady, this was but too true; see note at p. 239.

P. 289. l. 19. those who had the *greatest trust* in their affairs.] Their generals.

P. 289. l. 25. nor favoured *one of those men.*] The independents.

P. 291. l. 9. when *all the leading persons in those councils.*] The independents.

P. 292. l. 9. erecting a power and authority that resolved to *persecute presbytery to an extirpation.*] This was

not true in any other sense than this, that they were resolved to destroy the presbyterian tyranny; and I suppose the noble historian thought that their tyranny and their existence were inseparable.

P. 292. l. 24. Without a parliament, they could not propose it.] This appears to have been an idle struggle for a parliament or no parliament. If under the sanction of a parliament, they had sent any army into England against the king, it had been as much a rebellion as if the nation had raised and sent an army without that sanction; and a hundred thousand pounds would certainly have overcome that scruple.

P. 299. l. penult. and as, many times, *men in a scuffle lose their weapons*, &c.] A very fine image. The queen in the cabinet, and the two princes in the field, were the authors of these disorders.

P. 302. l. 10. though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it, &c.] An admirable observation bought by the noble author's own experience, but bought too dear.

P. 302. l. 20. that hopeful young prince.] He had all the qualities of the great prince of Condé in a very subordinate degree, except his personal courage, which perhaps was equal, though by reason of an inferiority in other qualities it would not appear to be so.

P. 303. to p. 308. The whole of this excellent.

P. 306. l. 7. Among those who were next the king's trust,—there were some, &c.] Meaning himself.

P. 309. l. 14. *observed with all punctuality.*] Not at all to the benefit of his person or his place, as that *punctuality* had degenerated into eastern pomp. But his different fortunes had brought him into these different extremes, which in prosperity prevented his being beloved, and in his adversity hindered his being reverenced.

P. 314. l. 1. which hath made me enlarge this digression so much, &c.] This noble historian understood his task incomparably well. Yet has party so blinded the understanding of some who most pretend to taste, that because they

dislike his political principles, they will not or cannot see, that in the knowledge of human nature, (the noblest qualification of the historian,) this great author excels all the Greek and Latin historians put together.

P. 321. l. 10. it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the judgment, &c.] It must be owned there was absurdity enough in this man's conduct to justify the old observation; *Quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat.*

P. 322. l. 2. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a *misfortune than a fault.*] But whose fault was it that the marquis of Hertford, who so well knew the country, and who was so well beloved where he was known, was displaced to make room for prince Maurice, who was a stranger, and became hated as soon as he was known?

P. 323. l. 21. Though the king's success, and good fortune, had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester, *and the battle of Newbury.*] I am afraid, by the words here dropped, that the parliament had too much reason to make a victory of it.

P. 327. l. 8. and if the parliament should not *return to their regular obedience.*] i. e. let things stand on the same footing they were before the tumults of Whitehall. This was what the king wanted. What the parliament wanted, was to share his prerogative with him, both in the military and civil department, for their own security for what was past. This, while each party had the sword in their hands, was the fixed resolution of each not to depart from. Let the intelligent reader then judge, whether it was possible to end the quarrel by a treaty, before one of the parties was subdued; and then it was (and it might have been easily foreseen that it would be) too late.

P. 327. l. penult. *he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients, as should be most conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the realm.*] This, after all, was a very sage interposition. It implied that *the differences were to be pacified by expedients;* i. e. that some satisfaction

was to be given to the parliament for their security; but that care was to be taken that those *expedients* did not disturb or violate the constitution. This sage proposal pleased neither party. The king, we see, expected the *parliament should return to their regular obedience;* i. e. leave the constitution in the state they found it, without further security to themselves; and the parliament was for altering the constitution.

P. 329. l. ult. *And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.*] The court passed this judgment, because they were so egregiously disappointed in what they so foolishly expected, that the *king of France would assist Charles bona fide in such a manner as Charles himself should propose*; i. e. fight his battles for him.

P. 330. l. 24. a messenger from the parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the houses.] This is highly probable from the character of Mountague, very forward in business, and a kind of favourite of the queen mother, and so the object of Mazarine's jealousy.

P. 334. l. 4. but the evidence of the king's *aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses.*] Something or other is always dropping from the noble historian, which would persuade one to think, that the heads of the parliament party were excusable in thinking that the king would take his revenge on them if he could.

P. 338. l. penult. *being startled at the statute* of the 25th of Edward III.] This statute evidently relates only to particular private men.

P. 342. l. 19. that they should *be tried by a council of war, as spies; which was done at Essex-house.*] I can see no injustice in this, after what had passed between the two houses. The king might with equal sense have sent one of his messengers to take the parliament general into custody, who, by the old rules of law, was guilty of high treason, as send a messenger with his writs into a town of war in arms against him.

P. 344. l. 15. There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, &c.] Clement Walker, author of The System of Independency; a famous libel on that faction.

P. 345. l. 5. and *if he had not incumbered* himself with command in the army.] He committed the very same blunder then that lord George Sacvill did of late.

P. 346. l. 2. and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom.] Prince Rupert afterwards defended Bristol in the same unaccountable manner, who certainly wanted not courage; and this obliged him likewise to *depatriate.*

P. 346. l. 18. whilst others considered it as a *judgment of Heaven.*] This great historian is always too free with his judgments. But the piety is more eminent than the superstition in this great man's foibles.

P. 351. l. 2. and *a counsellor,* much trusted.] The historian himself.

P. 351. l. 6. *he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer.*] An admirable picture of a hackneyed courtier.

P. 351. l. 17. that since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to parliaments, and *believed,* &c.] Experience taught them to *believe* so.

P. 351. l. 23. when they were persuaded that their *very doing it made it lawful.*] It was no wonder, that they who saw the parliament through two reigns stem the torrent of unlawful power, should be hardly brought to believe a parliament could act against law.

P. 352. l. 26. yet he had no mind that *a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it:—*the governors of the *parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace.*] This shews what has been so often observed, that neither one nor the other party desired such a peace as was good for the *whole,* but for themselves respectively. The king was not for having his power reduced to proper bounds, and the parliament was for altering the constitution.

P. 354. l. 20. and *abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects.*] How could the historian say this, when at p. 326. he had told us, that *the*

*king hoped that France would really assist his majesty* (in case the ambassador could do nothing with the parliament by gentle means) *in such manner as he should propose?* And why should the historian disguise this, since the seeking for foreign assistance in a just quarrel was right policy?

P. 355. l. 3. The lords justices, and council, had sent a short petition to his majesty, &c.] I see no reason why the king might not apply his rebellious catholic subjects in Ireland to his own purpose; as well as the parliament apply his rebellious puritan subjects of Scotland to theirs. The terms under which both these several applications were made, having only this difference apparently to the advantage of the king; the papists only demanded a toleration under the established church; the puritans required (and it was granted them) an establishment of their discipline to the destruction of the national church.

P. 362. l. 9. without the *consent of his two houses of parliament in England.*] But in all reasonable construction, this could only mean while the parliament remained in legal subjection to him. On the whole, the king was perfectly free from blame throughout this whole Irish affair, from first to last, as a politician, and king, and governor of his people. But the necessity of his affairs obliging him at the same time to play the protestant saint and confessor, there was found much disagreement between his professions and declarations, and his actions in this matter.

P. 364. l. 31. It is one of the instances of the strange, *fatal misunderstanding.*] A *misunderstanding* that had its birth from the king's long misgovernment.

P. 365. l. 8. *but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection.*] This could only arise from the known bigotry of the queen, and her known absolute government over the will of her husband.

P. 370. l. 32. that if a *personal* supply.] *Present*, surely.

P. 402. l. 13. most graciously proclaiming pardon *to all without exception.*] I do not know whether this did not make the parliament confide less in the king's good faith than they would have done, had some been excepted from

pardon, especially if they measured the king's temper and provocations by their own; for in their offers of grace and accommodations, there were many excepted.

P. 405. l. 20. They said, *the question was not, nor need they dispute, whether they might propagate their religion by arms.*] By this it appears, that these wretched fanatics and hypocrites were ready to *dispute* for the affirmative whenever it became a *question*, nay, before; for they here profane a text to justify *the right of propagating their religion by arms:* by which text a curse is denounced against *Meroz* for not doing, what in their modesty they say they will *not dispute* for the right of doing.

P. 407. l. 10. In the time of *animosity, and appetite of revenge.*] And was not *animosity, and appetite of revenge,* now at the height?

P. 407. l. 19. to shew that they had *a clear prospect of whatever could be said against them.*] Extremely well observed, and as well expressed. The noble historian would insinuate, (and he insinuates the real fact,) that the Scots were fully conscious they were going to play the rogue.

P. 409. l. 29. And *I cannot but observe*, &c.] There is no superstition in this observation. The earl of Essex was no fanatic, and therefore had nothing to prevent his seeing the horrid hypocrisy of these two diabolic *declarations*. So that to support them by the power which his station gave them, could not but be displeasing to the God of truth and justice.

P. 414. l. 17. *the scope and intention of that letter being to make provision how all the members*, &c.] It must be owned the king's proposal was a pleasant one, to desire the members of the two houses at Westminster to let in a great majority of the members of the two houses at Oxford to vote along with them; after this there needed no treaty, for the king would thereby become master of his parliament.

P. 415. l. 5. and do beseech your majesty to be assured, that your *majesty's royal and hearty concurrence* with us herein, &c.] It must be owned too, that the parliament was full as reasonable. They only desired the king would sub-

mit to them. This fully shews (what has been often before observed by me) there could be no peace till one side or other was become master. And so the parliament tells him in very plain words, when they say, *without which your majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated.*

P. 416. l. 10. who begun to practise all the *licence of war.*]. Not the *licence of war*, which, having its laws as well as peace, is as much an enemy to *licence.* What the noble historian should have said, (and but out of reverence for his own cause would have said,) *all the licence of undisciplined troops.*

P. 416. l. 16. lest they should *be thought to take upon them to be a parliament.*] Did they not take upon them to be a parliament when *either house appointed speakers?*

P. 418. l. 27. *which few wise men believed it would ever be.*] Why should it, if it be the most equitable way of raising, as it is the most easy way of collecting taxes?

P. 422. l. 15. *found it necessary* to withdraw his army.] Why did he not advance to fight the Scots before he returned to put a check to Fairfax's successes? But he appears throughout to have been a very poor fantastic general.

P. 431. l. 3. out of too much *confidence in persons.*] Hamilton and his brother; who, notwithstanding all Burnet says in their behalf, were certainly a couple of knaves.

P. 431. l. 28. made *some smart propositions* to the king for the remedy.] I suppose either for the imprisonment or the taking off certain persons.

P. 439. l. 2. and he found that he was much better able *to do hurt than good;* which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, *whether* upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, *or whether he* was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for *pure want of courage,* &c.] i. e. to disserve than serve the court. He had raised

a spirit against it which he could not lay. Why should the historian seek for more reasons than that first given?—the necessity of returning to his party, to preserve his consequence in parliament.

P. 440. l. 13. and the *quality* of many of them.] As that of lord keeper Finch.

P. 441. l. 30. there being then several whispers of *some high proceedings they intended against the king*.] The elector was in hopes that the parliament would set aside the king and his children, and give the crown to him as next heir.

P. 444. l. 22. and *charging and routing some of their horse*.] It appears, by a MS. I have seen of this affair, written by an eyewitness from the steeple of the church, that the prince was obliged to charge and retire several times before he could break them. The action was within half a mile of the town, on the east side. The parliament forces were drawn up in a plain between the town and a hill, called Beacon-hill. On the top of which the prince formed, and from thence charged the enemy.

P. 447. l. 1. As the winter had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the king.] The actions of the army in this and the following book, in the campaigns of 1644-5. are chiefly taken from sir Edward Walker's Discourses; that is, the whole of Walker's Discourses are taken in.

P. 449. l. 1. and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended Waller in his western expedition.] Here was a rational *plan* well laid, and successfully entered upon; yet, without rhyme or reason, it was forsaken to pursue a *project*. The truth is, the parliament commanders always out-generaled the king's.

P. 455. l. 27. how the lord Hopton's troops lay quartered, *at too great a distance* from each other,—a regiment of foot of the king's lay *in too much security*.] So that while the general was on his Sussex *project*, no part of his plan, he left his army to have their quarters beaten up, by their not being at proper distances to relieve one another.

P. 457. l. 4. *The governor* was a man of honesty and

courage.] The high sheriff. It was not out of such that the parliament made their governors of places, but out of old soldiers of fortune. Here was no want of such, for the historian tells, many were without command in this very place.

P. 457. l. ult. the clergy that attended that army *prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable.*] Indeed most villainously, as appears from the very book which a fanatic wretch, one Cheynel, who was at the head of the persecutors, wrote upon that occasion, yet extant; which being lent (as a curiosity) to Mr. Locke, to shew him the villainous spirit of this fanatic, the great philosopher returned it, with this character of the performance. See Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 731.

P. 460. l. 1. near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, *they came to know how near they were to each other.*] From these words one may fairly conclude the king's army was surprised; though the words would intimate that both armies stumbled upon one another. But his account of Waller's disposition shews the contrary.

P. 462. l. 20. This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and *broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme,* of the king's counsels.] This the foolish project of the Sussex high sheriff accomplished. Had the scheme of Hopton's waiting for Waller been pursued, this latter could have got no recruits, and must have stopped at Farnham for some time, the west not being disturbed, and the king's army entire and in good order.

P. 464. l. 11. and would have been *glad to have been engaged with them.*] If the marquis was so willing, he should have done it when he had nothing else to do; when the Scots first entered England.

P. 471. l. 1. And the king himself frequently considered *more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given.*] A certain mark of a weak prince; how much soever courtiers are ready to praise their master's *judgment*.

P. 471. l. 23. The general, though he had been, without doubt, a very good officer.] A strange mixture of a worthless courtier and unable general.

P. 472. l. 4. and an ill *understanding*.] Here *understanding* is used for *judgment*.

P. 472. l. 18. and *the king himself*.] Here the king's opinion, though just, was directed by prejudice, and not reason.

P. 473. l. 14. which often put *the king to the trouble of converting him*.] Finely expressed, and alluding to what he had said before of the *courtier part* of the general's character.

P. 473. l. 21. *a virtue that none of the rest had*.] In a character like this, this defect appears to be owing to his not being a perfect master of his trade; and this indeed appears through his whole service.

P. 473. l. 22. but, in the debates concerning the war, was *longer in resolving*, and *more apt to change his mind after he had resolved*.] That is, he was the only one who was above the meanness of taking advantage of the king's distressed situation, to push their own selfish views of ambition or avarice. This gives us a sad picture both of the court and camp.

P. 474. l. 12. yet *one of them*.] Lord Digby; he preserved that ascendency which he formerly had over the other in the house, now in the council; and this was natural, otherwise Colepepper was of a nature to be overborne by words.

P. 481. l. 4. This was the deplorable condition to which the king was reduced before the end of the month of May.] Had this been a great king, who knew how to command and be obeyed by his servants, and had abilities to accommodate himself to times and occasions, notwithstanding all his former misgovernments, his recent and ample reparation of the breaches into public liberty, would have enabled him, when the sword was drawn, to denitche his factious parliament. But when his servants saw him governed by the queen, they thought it but reasonable that they should have a share in the ruin of the uxorious monarch.

P. 496. l. 16. to make way for him, *sir Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been, the year before, removed from that charge.] I do not find that sir A. A. Cooper had occasioned this disgrace by any ill conduct. But Ashburnham was a court favourite, who afterwards conducted that famous night expedition from Hampton court to the Isle of Wight.

P. 497. l. 14. had retired with *haste enough* towards Exeter.] i. e. instead of *rising* from before Lyme, he run away; indeed he seemed to excel in nothing but plundering the country.

P. 498. l. 24. Wilmot, without ever *communicating it with the king, positively advised.*] That is, privately, and before he proposed it in council.

P. 507. l. 22. *his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in,—His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex.*] His uxoriousness here occasioned, by accidents, one of the best steps the king ever made in the war.

P. 510. l. 8. *being no sooner broken than they rallied again.*] This was what the king's horse from first to last were so far from being brought to do, that when victorious they could rarely be brought in order to charge again, not for want of courage, but total want of discipline.

P. 511. l. 7. that *two great generals.*] These *two great generals* ought both to have been hanged, and where any discipline or law prevailed would have been so.

P. 511. l. 23. having marched, or run above ten miles northward, before they had news *that they might securely return.*] The king himself performed as heroical a part at the second battle of Newbury.

P. 512. l. 12. But neither of them were friends to such deliberation.] In this the prince was most to blame; he was a soldier and a man of sense, whereas the other was only a fantastical virtuoso on horseback.

P. 513. l. 25. *Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding.*] In this they made up in discretion, what they wanted in soldiery.

P. 516. l. 27. Besides that he was *amorous in poetry and music.*] This is well expressed to intimate a *pretender* in both.

P. 517. l. 1. He *loved monarchy*, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; *and the church*, &c.] He loved *monarchy* and the *church*, it seems, just as he loved *poetry* and *music;* the one administered to his *pride*, and the other to his *vanity*.

P. 518. l. 24. He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it, &c.] The noble historian is in nothing more excellent than in accounting for the actions of men by their *characters*, so justly and inimitably drawn, that you see in this clear mirror, as in a magician's glass, the past, the present, and the future.

P. 519. l. 16. insomuch as he *sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together.*] What a general! was he likely to be a match for Cromwell, who, in business, would admit a common soldier, not only to his bedchamber, but to his bed?

P. 519. l. 21. From the beginning, he was without any *reverence or regard for the privy-council.*] This agrees very well with what the historian tells us was his motive for *loving monarchy*.

P. 520. l. 5. and his authority overshadowed by the *superiority* of prince Rupert.] The prince was indeed every way superior to him, even in the fine arts, to which the marquis made such pretensions.

P. 520. l. 22. with any *civil* and gracious condescensions.] Count Hamilton, in his Memoirs of count Grammont, thus characterizes the prince.

P. 521. l. 15. and had exercised the highest commands under the *king of Sweden*, &c.] What a declension from the king of Sweden to the marquis of Newcastle!

P. 522. l. 5. without farther inquiring *what he had omitted to do.*] These were good Christians, but bad politicians.

P. 524. l. 2. In this unexpected strait, upon the first re-

ception of the news, he resolved to return back, &c,] Hitherto the parliament *commanders* had factions amongst themselves; and it was no wonder; for, as they had no thoughts of not returning to their obedience upon terms not agreed on, they would be naturally jealous of one another, and each seek his own peculiar interest: but as soon as this *model* took place, which it did the year following, the new commanders acted with the utmost harmony; and this was as natural; for, never intending to return to their obedience, they had but one common interest, which was the overthrow of monarchy. And these chose Fairfax for their head, who, if he had any other views besides the amusement of fighting, was so exceeding stupid, that they had no apprehension that he should ever penetrate into theirs.

P. 524. l. penult. and the *earl did not think him very kind to him.*] Roberts, by mere superiority of parts, got the better of Essex's wiser resolution; for he was much indisposed to Roberts, and wanted neither courage nor obstinate resolution to reject the advice of those he did not like. And *Roberts* did not use any of the insinuating arts (for it was not in his nature) to bring over his superior to his direction.

P. 528. l. 15. who then proposed to himself to *make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army.*] If this was not mere nepotism, it shewed the king had no true judgment, but was struck with the eclat of the prince's actions; which had more of show than solidity, otherwise he would not have thought of putting a mere boy at the head of armies fighting for his crown.

P. 528. l. 22. as his *jealous nature had much of sagacity in it.*] A very fine observation. Sagacity commonly makes men jealous; but here it is supposed the jealousy might make Wilmot sagacious.

P. 529. l. 11. were quickly represented, in their *full magnitude*, to the king, by the lord Digby.] Characteristic of the famous secretary.

P. 529. l. 27. when he was indeed *generally well beloved*,

and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, *were at all esteemed.*] He tells you for what; his jovial companionable wit. Nor indeed did these two able men, lord Digby and sir J. Colepepper, deserve much esteem.

P. 532. l. 31. and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition, that his majesty would give them so much light of the lord Wilmot's crimes, &c.] He had said in the foregoing page, that Wilmot's removal only produced *a little murmur, which vanished away;* yet here we find it produced a great deal more, the necessity of shewing the officers the articles against Wilmot, who had been arrested for *high treason* at the head of the troops; whereas the articles only charged him with *indiscretions, vanities,* and *insolencies,* to which Wilmot returned a *very specious answer.* This, like that of the *five members* before the war, was cooked up by Digby, who never did any thing by halves.

P. 535. l. 23. To all which the earl answered sullenly, that, according to the commission he had received, he would *defend the king's person* and posterity.] The two best officers of the presbyterian stamp in the parliament service were, without comparison, Essex and Fairfax; and at the same time, without comparison, the two greatest blockheads, which turned their courage into obstinacy, and thereby made them greatly promote designs which they were most averse to.

P. 549. l. 9. with very many ladies, *who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so.*] Arising from that disposition in the sex to communicate their griefs, and to make them the constant subject of their conversation, whereby the infection of them soon becomes general.

P. 550. l. 10. her majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman catholic, *prevailed with the king to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston; who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was not known; and very much disliked, where he was.*] A scandalous instance of the king's uxorious temper. After this, what esteem could he expect

from his friends; or what fear or trust would his enemies either in arms, or on a treaty, have of him.

P. 550. l. 25. and so given up to *an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it.*] Ludlow tells us, that at the storm of Drogheda, where he fell in the assault, the soldiers, who had his plunder, found a girdle under his shirt, within which three or four hundred broad pieces were carefully quilted. He had early in the service lost a leg, and the soldiers had a common report among themselves, that the fictitious leg was of gold, apparently arising from his known love of it. It was in pursuit of this imaginary leg that Cromwell's soldiers found the girdle.

P. 562. l. 24. *beginning his war first upon his wife.*] This expression of contempt was well deserved. The historian knew sir Richard Greenvil and his actions well. He has been accused of prejudice in disfavour of this man, in the long account of his conduct; but neither the historian's nature, nor his regard for Greenvil's family, could have induced him to deviate from truth, to the prejudice of a man engaged with him in the same cause.

P. 569. l. 19. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate: *which was what he most set his heart upon.*] This was apparently his motive for revolting

P. 570. l. 8. and less liable to fumes, than *some* of his family, &c.] Lord Digby.

P. 573. l. 6. For when *prince Maurice* raised his siege from Lyme.] This prince Maurice was always committing faults, and under an incapacity of repairing them. This was a capital one.

P. 582. l. 16. It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford, &c.] This is taken (as is most of the campaign) from Walker's history of the year. Of all lord Clarendon's descriptions of battles, the most intelligible is that of the battle of Edge-hill.

P. 584. l. 3. *which was not well defended* by the officer

who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot, &c.] This is another of prince Maurice's exploits.

P. 585. l. 18. and in their *retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner.*] By this the *retreat* seems to have been a little precipitate.

P. 585. l. 28. *They came singing of psalms.*] These appear to be of the number of Cromwell's new-trained fanatics, who served under Manchester.

P. 586. l. 25. *thought that his army had suffered alike in all other places.*] The king had Newbury in possession. The action was on the outside the town, on the east, the north, and the west sides. What hindered the king from informing himself of what passed on the east side? and the night afforded him time to inquire. Instead of this, he ran away from his army fifty miles without stopping.

P. 586. l. 31. *if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.*] No doubt, if they had found.

P. 587. l. 14. and receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come, or *would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his army, his majesty himself, with the prince, and about three hundred horse.*] He softens what he can this shameful desertion of the king's, when his army stood most in need of his presence. Walker tells it more openly. But he softens it even to an excess of ridicule. The king and prince went thither to tell Rupert they wanted him to come as fast as he could to the army. The truth was, the king wanted to get as far as he could from the enemy. This was the most ignominious of all the king's feats in arms, in which he dishonoured his army, who behaved bravely, as well as himself.

P. 589. l. 22. *which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.*] I do not see the justness of this reflection. A rascal swayed by no laws of honour, and perpetually changing sides, as his pride, his extravagance, and avarice directed; and because

he chances to fall while in the king's service, where he then chanced to be, on no better motives than those above mentioned, his memory is to be sacred. But it was not the cause, but the motives of espousing it made the man's *memory* stink or keep sweet.

P. 590. l. 22. *that so he might march back to Newbury, and disengage his cannon and carriages.*] He plainly had no such thoughts when he ran away from his army.

P. 592. l. 9. *and if any honour had been lost the other day.*] There was no honour lost the other day, but the king's personal honour, and that was lost to so great a degree as hardly to be recovered.

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## VOL. V.

P. 1. l. 1. the old general was set aside, and prince Rupert put into the command, which *was no popular change.*] It was unhappy that the king, who had brought himself into these distresses in time of peace, by governing unpopular, and was not to retrieve a desperate game by arms, should act *unpopularly*, i. e. unjustly and foolishly.

P. 2. l. 1. in which he lessened his own dignity.] For the sake of Rupert and Maurice.

P. 2. l. 23. Neither of them valued their promises, &c.] These two similar characters incomparably contrasted.

P. 3. l. 17. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his masterpiece.] He at last turned monk.

P. 9. l. 2. by the *absurd* imputation of his majesty's favouring the Irish.] It might be, and I think it was false. But why absurd? He was absolutely governed by his wife, who was a bigotted papist.

P. 10. l. 22. To prevent this mischief, Goring, &c.] Admirable!

P. 16. l. 7. who were the most *popular preachers.*] The spirit of liberty now awakened, made the people as much hate the severity of the presbyterian discipline, (though their ministers first awakened it,) as they had hated the episcopal.

And these independent preachers declaimed now as violently against the presbyterian tyranny, as the presbyterians had against the episcopal.

P. 27. l. 26. for which Oliver Cromwell *assured them he was very equal.*] He was perfectly *equal* to their business, and to *Cromwell's* own. Cromwell had said to Bellievre, the French minister, that *a man never rises so high, as when he does not know whither he is going.* This was certainly Fairfax's case, as appears by his own Memoirs. *He did not know,* from first to last, *whither he was going.*

P. 30. l. 18. which his majesty (*though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present*) was persuaded to approve.] This shews that the king was sensible his servants were not so tenacious of his schemes of government as he himself was.

P. 31. l. 16. his majesty would not name *a person.*] Lord Digby.

P. 35. l. 5. And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for *his beheading.*] The archbishop petitioned the lords that the sentence might be altered from *hanging* to *beheading*, which the houses agreed to. It was a mean request, not made so much to *judges* as to *enemies.* But here the *ruling passion* prevailed. The archbishop's last struggle was to prevent the dignity of his order from being stained by an ignominious punishment.

P. 44. l. penult. This is the *same Love,* who some years after, &c.] This Love was a presbyterian minister, and here doing the business of the independents, whom he most hated; which looks as if he had been duped into this blundering conduct by somebody wiser than himself.

P. 52. l. 8. *Mr. Cheynel,* one who had been fellow of Merton college in Oxford.] The infamous fanatic who teazed Chillingworth to death, by the most villainous insults, under the name of charity.

P. 56. l. 2. *that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently no administration of sacraments, or performance of the ministerial functions.*] As the king unhappily mistook this for gospel, it was no wonder

that he, as an honest man and a Christian, should so obstinately adhere to episcopal government.

P. 56. l. 11. his coronation *oath*, by which he was bound to defend the rights of the church.] As to the oath, it was given to the public; and he and the public, who were the only parties concerned, might dissolve that tie.

P. 56. l. 15. and the alienation of the *lands of the church.*] *Church lands* were given by the public, and by the public might be resumed.

P. 56. l. 25. whether the parliament commissioners did believe that the government of the church by bishops was unlawful, &c.] However, both parties contended, the one for the divine right of episcopacy, the other for the divine right of presbytery; and this, forty years after Hooker had demonstrated, that no form of church government was *jure divino*, but all *jure humano*. Nobody seemed to have remembered this but the marquis of Hertford. See Whitlock's Mem. 2d edit. p. 128.

P. 58. l. 12. *that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said.*] This is very sophistical. The subject of episcopal and presbyterian government had been largely canvassed in public writings by the most learned men of both parties just before the war broke out.

P. 61. l. 16. But in this particular, *he who was most reasonable among them, thought* it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security; and believed it *could proceed from nothing else, but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.*] The parliament had some reason to think, that if they granted the king the militia, (which certainly was his right,) that they should lie at his mercy; they had much more reason to think, that whenever they lay at his mercy, (how much soever he tied himself to forgiveness by treaties,) that he would take his revenge. The king had little reason to think, that if he should lie at theirs, they could ever exert their power further than to keep his administration within the bounds of law. However, he denied with a better grace than they demanded, because he

refused to divest himself of his right, and they demanded to be invested in what they had no right to.

P. 62. l. 3. how the king had *voluntarily* committed the carrying on that war, &c.] See what is remarked concerning this matter in the first volume of the History.

P. 66. l. 22. *The nine first days were now spent upon the three great heads*, &c.] The king's commissioners had evidently the better of the argument on every one of the *three great heads*. They had an establishment in favour of episcopacy—a *right* in support of the militia—and a reasonable *state policy* in favour of what was done concerning the Irish cessation.

P. 73. l. 25. The earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit, &c.] An admirable picture of these two lords.

P. 81. l. penult. Thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge, &c.] All this true. But we are told from good hands, that the king would have made more satisfactory concessions, but that at this instant of time he had received a letter from Montrose, that he had subdued all Scotland, which was on the matter true. But so wayward was the poor king's fate, that his good as well as his ill successes brought him but nearer to ruin.

P. 82. l. penult. *that if he himself were dead, the parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end to their government.*] After what the parliament had already done, nothing was ever weaker than this imagination of the poor king's, that because by the constitution a parliament is dissolved on the king's death, that therefore this parliament in such a case would dissolve themselves.

P. 121. l. 7. that the *immediate hand of Almighty God*, &c.] Perhaps this was as weak a remark as the historian ever made, certainly unworthy of him. These men did not act more against conscience in siding with parliament against the king than many others; they were not distinguished for their violence in opposition, and they returned to their obedience sooner; and yet these are picked out for the objects of divine vengeance. *The tower fell upon them*, yet

certainly they were not sinners above the rest of the *Galilæans.*

P. 127. l. ult. as shall seem *to call both his wisdom and his steadiness* into question.] This is fairly saying, and like an honest man, that the king wanted both; which was indeed the case throughout his whole reign, both in peace and war.

P. 128. l. 16. than shew how they *proceed*, &c.] Proceeded.

P. 128. l. 17. *not* totally abandoned, &c.] Now.

P. 129. l. 27. and *for his vindication.*] This does not at all clash with what he had said in the foregoing page, concerning the *precise rule of integrity*, which he professes to observe. For though the end of history, in general, be for the information of posterity, yet the honest purposes of any particular historian may be the vindication of what he thinks to be an injured character.

P. 138. l. 4. where his horse *committed the same horrid outrages.*] It is to be observed, that those court colonels, who had entered into a design before the war to bring up the northern army (raised against the Scots) to overawe the parliament, were the very officers, raised to high commands in the king's armies during the war, who did the king more mischief than all his enemies, by their villainous licence and debaucheries.

P. 139. l. 7. was, by *special order*, recalled to Bristol,—*but the lord Hopton was likewise field-marshal* of the west.] Intimating, that the king favoured this old abandoned courtier against the bravest and most virtuous general in his service.

P. 155. l. 17. a very *negligent and disdainful mention* of the person of the king.] As governed by this wife.

P. 172. l. 4. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west, &c.] This single intrigue ruined the king irretrievably, by dividing this small army.

P. 174. l. 10. *if he had been born to serve his country.*] Indeed he always carried a fatality along with him to the disservice of the king.

P. 174. l. 18. enriching the licentious *governor* thereof.] Sir H. Bard.

P. 174. l. 20. and *took his leave of it, in wantonly burning* the noble structure.] Walker says it was burned by prince Rupert's command, which is by much the most likely.

P. 178. l. 15. *when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.*] The terrible disaster at Naseby, as terribly and sublimely announced.

P. 179. l. 21. The number of the king's foot which remained, did not amount to above *three thousand five hundred.*] There must be some mistake here. The smallness of the number of foot is incredible in itself. Besides, Whitlock says, that the parliament took 4,500 of the king's foot prisoners at Naseby.

P. 185. l. 20. That *difference* was observed all along, in the discipline of the king's troops.] That is, the king's troops were *undisciplined,* and those of Cromwell and Fairfax *disciplined;* for nothing but that could make the difference, where the *courage* was equal. But the difference of the generals too must be taken into the account. Rupert had no genius for war, otherwise he could never have repeated the same fault twice, at *Edge-hill, Marston Moor,* and now again at Naseby. His only military quality was courage; and in this he was equalled by Fairfax and Cromwell, who had other eminent qualities of service besides.

P. 186. l. 24. when the king and the kingdom were lost in it.] A sentiment dictated by a generous despair, and as nobly expressed.

P. 187. l. 4. and then went to Hereford, with some *disjointed imagination.*] He would not say they had any *reason;* it was only an *imagination;* and even that he thought too good a name for their motive of going to Hereford, and therefore calls that imagination a *disjointed* one.

P. 187. l. 15. *Nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the king* should amuse himself about forming a new army, &c.] Nothing indeed could be more wondered at, than this conduct in an able monarch; but it did not disgrace any of this king's former conduct.

P. 193. l. 16. at a time when he used to mention *the person of the king with great contempt.*] It is certain that the king, for his uxoriousness, was held in great contempt by the more licentious part of the court, and in great pity by the more sober part.

P. 194. l. 19. whereof, he said, *prince Rupert* had told him, that some thought him not a man fit to be trusted.] This was a very paltroon trick of his highness.

P. 200. l. 3. by the *intolerable pride of incorrigible faction.*] Their ambition for command was neither to serve the common cause, nor to acquire glory by success in arms, but merely to empower them to plunder the country, and to waste the spoils in luxury and riot.

P. 200. l. 21. and that it would prove of ill consequence, and beget a mutiny, if they should receive a weekly pay, when none of the rest did, *nor any army the king had in England.*] Was it possible under this singular circumstance, while the parliament forces received pay, and were under discipline, there could be any other issue of the war?

P. 210. l. 13. inveighing likewise in *an unpardonable dialect against the person of the king.*] We oft meet with accounts of this licence in the king's courtiers and generals in traducing the person of the king; the knowledge of the particulars of this licence would have been curious.

P. 220. l. 24. *and it was exceedingly wondered at,* that when he saw in what condition he was, &c.] This is certainly to be understood as a severe condemnation of Rupert's conduct, and I think a just one.

P. 222. l. 8. *The king stayed at Ragland,* &c.] Walker has here a remarkable passage; "His majesty went to Rag-"land-castle, and there stayed three weeks; and, as if the "genius of that place had conspired with our fates, we "were there *all lulled asleep with sports and entertain-"ments; as if no crown had been at stake, or in danger to "be lost, till the marching of Fairfax awakened us,*" &c. p. 132.

P. 223. l. 5. Here again the *unhappy discord in the court* raised new obstructions.] His reverence for the king and

court has deprived us of the most curious part of his history; a detailed account of these court intrigues, which he studious avoids on all occasions, even there where he acquaints us with the fatal effects of them.

P. 223. l. 23. which would have put him in a *posture much better* than he was ever afterwards.] The court seems to have been absolutely dementated. There was now no other reasonable measure to be taken, than for the king to make his last stand in the west.

P. 224. l. ult. and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or *so much ashamed of not having done it.*] There were very few of the king's generals throughout the war that ever did their duty.

P. 228. l. 5. *So that, instead of providing men to march with the king, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards the relief of Hereford.*] By this we see, that *redress of grievances* before *aid afforded*, was not the temper of this or that assembly, of this or that party, or faction, but the natural English spirit under oppression.

P. 228. l. 28. and he was of too impetuous a nature, to submit to any thing for *conscience, or discretion, or duty.*] On every other occasion than resistance of oppression from the sovereign, the noble historian would have qualified these honest Welchmen's call for redress, by a nobler epithet than *sturdily*, and said *steadily*.

P. 230. l. 7. Here the king, after all his *endeavours* were rendered fruitless.] *Endeavours* to come to no resolution, till there was no choice left.

P. 242. l. 6. according to appointment, the person he had desired went to him.] Sir Edward Hyde himself.

P. 246. l. penult. Whether the wonted *irresolution* of those about the king, or the *imagination*, upon this report, &c.] This is chiefly to be charged on lord Digby; for the fertility of his *imagination* occasioned his *irresolution*.

P. 247. l. 16. within three days, there was an appearance of *full three thousand foot.*] The royal resources, even

after the loss at Naseby, were so many and powerful, that there only wanted a great king, who could be his own general, to retrieve the game; such a one as Charles's father-in-law, Henry IV.

P. 250. l. 2. and his majesty was received with *so full joy into the city of Hereford, that he slipped the opportunity he then had of discommoding* at least, if not ruining the Scottish army.] i. e. the king suffered himself to be amused with the pageantry of a rejoicing from the mayor and aldermen of Hereford, when he should have been pursuing the disheartened Scotch army.

P. 250. l. 22. But the *king's heart was now so wholly set upon the relief of Bristol.*] As if those two things interfered, but something was to be said to cover the king's ill conduct.

P. 251. l. 6. about *Berkley*-castle on Gloucestershire side.] His original says *Beadily*, which I believe is right.

P. 251. l. 28. which, considering the *unspeakable indulgence* his majesty had ever shewed towards that prince.] Was this a proper treatment of a licentious soldier of fortune, whose service he accepted in a war with his parliament, where each party was to conciliate the affections of the people by the exactest discipline? on such occasion no *indulgence* should have been given to the licentious temper of an insolent young prince.

P. 259. l. 2. when *his mother is to have the sole care of him.*] The uxorious monarch had apparently promised this to his wife. So the reasons of the counsellors went for nothing.

P. 266. l. 4. what you desire in your letter, on the 22d of May, shall be observed.] A couple of precious generals, who, when they had, by their ill conduct, drove their master on the brink of the precipice, instead of joining all their endeavours to bring him safely off, were caballing together to support one another's power to the destruction of their master's small remaining hopes.

P. 279. l. 24. as an argument against *his majesty's sincere intentions*—would take themselves to be *highly dis-*

*obliged by that act; and they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.*] The historian judges right, that both the king's friends and enemies would have judged this to be disingenuous dealing; and if, as he observes, the king's *council* would thereby lose all confidence in the king, (for that is the meaning of the jargon *of the council losing all confidence in their future counsels,*) what must the parliament do?

P. 287. l. 29. and was *generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the prince's commission.*] Had he done this after the battle of Marston Moor, he had done the king much service.

P. 294. l. 7. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own troops, *because the enemy fled.*] This expression shews the historian's contempt of these troops, which, by being so oft beat, routed at Naseby, frightened by Lesley's horse, and dispersed by Pointz, came at length not to know their friends from their enemies.

P. 294. l. 18. *The temper and composition of his mind was so admirable.*] A very polite periphrasis for complacency in his excessive vanity.

P. 300. l. 22. and went to *Wyverton.*] Bynenton, or Watton.

P. 301. l. 23. that he should not acquaint *the princes, or any of their company with it.*] Walker gives the reason, that as they had acted so undutifully, they should have no share in the honour of the service.

P. 303. l. 3. with persons of entire devotion to him, and of *steady judgments.*] Hinting at lord Digby's.

P. 305. l. 25. besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of *a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army.*] Insinuating in this high wrote picture, that both heaven and earth had concurred to their destruction.

P. 306. l. 15. *horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away.*] See page 305.

P. 313. l. penult. *of which so near advance of the enemy he had not known but by a lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering* in those parts, and fell amongst them.] A fine picture of these dissolute undisciplined troops, that all their outguards, even on the approach of the enemy, were their straggling plunderers.

P. 315. l. penult. The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Launceston; where *Mr. Edgecomb*, &c.] They have been nothing but *borough-jobbers* ever since.

P. 318. l. 22. *who swore* they met him at Uxbridge.] This was a cavalier oath; for they swore with the same ill faith they fought.

P. 343. l. 26. from those who pretended to *erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ.*] This seems to allude to a vote which at this time passed in the house of commons, and which Whitlock relates in these words; "The house being "informed that an intended petition for *establishing pres-*"*bytery as the discipline of Jesus Christ*, they voted it *to be* "*scandalous.*" Independency at this time beginning to get the upper hand in the house of commons.

P. 345. l. 12. the general only excepted; *who thought himself a presbyterian.*] His best reason for thinking so was because his wife was one.

P. 347. l. 24. But it was made known to her, *that her presence would not be acceptable in France.*] Richelieu was not mistaken in believing the daughter full as vicious, intriguing, and ambitious of rule as the mother.

P. 348. l. 24. And how great things soever this last minister performed for the service of that crown.] The civil war of the Frond is no contradiction to this truth; *for the disposition of the whole nation to subjection* was the true cause why such men as the coadjutor, the prince of Condé, and Turenne, could do so little, when they took arms against the court.

P. 349. l. penult. and might hereafter make himself arbiter of the *peace between the two crowns.*] Mazarine might reasonably suspect this, if Bolingbroke's anecdote may be depended on, who says, that Charles I. before the troubles,

was sensible that the balance of power between France and Spain was changing apace; and therefore when he found that Richelieu had some designs on Flanders, he sent him word, that if the French persisted in that attempt, he would come over at the head of twenty thousand men to oppose it.

P. 354. l. 30. that they would never insist *upon the settling any other government than was at that time practised in London.*] This, as the great historian observes, is a very *memorable* circumstance, and shews how much the presbyterians were answerable for the overthrow of the constitution. All the difference between them and the independents being only this, that they were indeed for having a pageant of a king, but the other went to the abolition of the very name.

P. 369. l. 13. The two lords found the queen *much troubled.*] This was no maternal affection, as appeared from all her conduct with regard to her son, but her impatience to be in business, and have her son to govern, as she had governed her husband.

P. 371. l. 4. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art, &c.] This stroke of Digby's character very finely touched. And indeed his great genius in drawing characters is never more happily exerted than when lord Digby comes cross his pen. And the exquisite and natural touches of this kind, is more than a thousand arguments of his being superior in all senses to this his capital enemy. For had resentment and revenge directed his pen, he never would, indeed he never could, have given us a picture of this very extraordinary nobleman.

P. 372. l. 8. *resolving*, that, upon the strength of his own reason.] Used in the sense of earlier writers, for being assured.

P. 375. l. 7. He had no sooner *discharged himself of this imagination.*] Finely expressed.

P. 379. l. 3. As soon as they came to Jersey, the lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade *his friend*, &c.] This was sir Edward Hyde himself.

P. 380. l. 8. His friend, who in truth loved him very

heartily, &c.] This whole episode of lord Digby's adventures from Dublin to Paris is incomparably told.

P. 383. l. 14. But as it is no unusual *hardheartedness* in such chief ministers, to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own *dark purposes*, &c.] This noble historian, whose virtue and integrity caused him to fall a sacrifice to the most *hardhearted* monarch that ever was, yet had such a veneration for courts, as made him qualify every species of villainy there (as may be seen throughout this History) by the softest terms. So here he calls a treachery, which none but the devil, or those instructed by him, would commit, by the *soft* name of *hardheartedness*. However, he gives the devil his due, when he supposes it done for some *dark purposes*, worthy of that inspiration.

P. 385. l. 10. but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their *ambition or their profit*, which were always *powerful and irresistible spells* upon that party.] So says Milton, in his character of the presbyterian faction, in his History of England.

P. 387. l. 12. when there evidently appeared to be the *most hostile jealousy* between the independent army and them.] Ready to go to blows, which they did soon after.

P. 387. l. 19. I do promise in the name of the king and queen regent, &c.] This is in the style of a state, which had for many ages assumed the protection of the Scottish nation from the injuries of England. Under this title the king was willing to accept their guarantee. So low was this unhappy monarch reduced in honour and power.

P. 390. l. 21. that *they could not give their consent that the marquis of Mountrose should go ambassador into France.*] This denial was on account of that relationship the Scotch nation bore to the French, mentioned above.

P. 392. l. penult. The governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved, &c.] This seems much for the honour of the parliament commanders, as if they esteemed bravery in their enemies, which was indeed natural to brave men.

P. 393. l. 21. *but those officers would submit to no such*

*engagements.*] It would have been a breach of their trust; and that the king should be willing to take the words of those who did so, is indeed surprising. This, and the historian's concealing their names, shew that this was some intrigue begun between those parliament commanders and some of the king's bedchamber counsellors: and from intrigues of this kind much mischief afterwards proceeded.

P. 393. l. 32. *which yet he did not trust so far* as to give them notice of his journey.] This half trust was certainly impolitic. It gave the Scots army a pretence to break their engagement, as the king had not performed his, by meeting their horse, which had he done, no impudence or perfidy would have enabled them to send their express to Westminster.

P. 395. l. 27. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as *the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them.*] A more execrable crew of banditti never assumed the honourable name of an army, with whom honour and good faith went for nothing.

P. 407. l. 27. and as much condemned *them*, as the parliament.] The Scots.

P. 408. l. 30. Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other clergy, to persuade the king to consent *to the extirpation of episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland—But the king was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded.*] Had the king acknowledged the sin of the *extirpation of episcopacy* in Scotland, he might well plead conscience against the repetition of the crime; but, while he thought he acted innocently in the change of church government in Scotland, why he should imagine it a sin to do the same in England, is to me incomprehensible. Had he thought the change impolitic, as unfriendly to monarchy, he had reason enough in the refusal. Perhaps this was at the bottom, and he only chose to cover plain policy by more refined, and so, by bringing religion into the quarrel, strengthen his state views. If this was his end, he not only failed in his purpose, but, in exchange for the solid reputa-

tion of an able monarch, got only the disputed character of *sanctity* with his friends, and *bigotry* with his enemies.

P. 411. l. 6. Upon which, the queen, who *was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her.*] This is one of the severest things he has permitted himself to say of this wicked woman.

P. 411. l. 11. who knew the person well enough under *another character* than was like to give him much credit, &c.] A poet and a debauchee.

P. 412. l. 11. the chancellor was an honest man, and would never *desert him*, nor the prince, nor the church.] This desertion of the prince was the beginning of those immense services he did him when king, too great to be repaid any otherwise than by his destruction.

P. 413. l. 1. so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the prince of Wales, when his person should once appear in France, were as *unworthily disappointed.*] He means as ill discharged; the author has here expressed himself very inaccurately and improperly.

P. 429. l. 3. which, they said, *was to restrain the Spirit.*] This they called *liberty of prophesying*. The excellent Jer. Taylor took advantage of this phrase to make it the title of one of the finest books written in defence of *religious liberty* and toleration.

P. 430. l. 28. and were called by a *new name fanatics.*] The thing was new, and therefore it could not but be that they should have a new name.

P. 442. l. 9. *but it was yielded to.*] This was not so much to cajole the king, though there was something too in that, as to appear consistent in their great principle of *liberty of conscience.*

P. 445. l. 3. The king was in great doubt how to carry himself;—Fairfax had been with him, and kissed his hand, and *made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery.*] They were equally averse to restore the king to his rights, with this difference, the presbyterians had an unconquerable aversion to episcopacy,

and the independents to monarchy. The king, who thought episcopacy and monarchy must stand or fall together, was resolved to preserve both, or perish in the attempt; and he possibly might have preserved both, had his abilities been equal to his good-will.

P. 446. l. 28. and having a friend in that court that governed.] Jermyn.

P. 447. l. 21. *he had foretold all that was since come to pass,*—for he that loved him best, *was very willing to be without him.*] Jermyn.

P. 448. l. 18. being in truth *of several parties and purposes.*] Berkley was of the queen's faction; Ashburnham of the king's.

P. 449. l. 6. and though he *had some ordinary craft* in insinuating,—and *a free speaker of what he imagined.*] i. e. what every body gets at court.

P. 453. l. 24. and they had *absolutely refused to gratify the king in that particular.*] Merciless tyrants.

P. 454. l. 11. where the *presbyterian spirit* had power to deny it.] The worst spirit on this side h——.

P. 455. l. 18. an expedient, which, they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired.] An expedient, by the conduct of which, they had observed those very men (against whom they meant to apply it) had brought to pass all that they desired.

P. 466. l. 6. and *they* had too much modesty to think they could do amiss.] The speakers.

P. 466. l. 23. the army being in truth *under so excellent discipline, that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed.*] Such an army must needs subdue both friends and enemies.

P. 476. l. 26. out of which *memorials.*] The chief of which was sir Edward Walker's, of the campaigns of 1644-5, since published.

P. 479. l. 5. *Here the foundation of that engagement was laid.*] If those who at this time governed the army had any real intention of restoring the king, they certainly were di-

verted from the duplicity they discovered in the king's character, manifested in this negociation with the Scotch commissioners.

P. 480. l. ult. which the army liked not, as *a violation of the liberty of tender consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel, as any other grievance whatsoever.*] And, in fact, was.

P. 481. l. 13. Brent, Pryn, and some committee men.] Sir Nathaniel Brent, translator of father Paul's History of the Council of Trent.

P. 483. l. 9. and many who were *wickedly introduced.*] Such as Wilkins.

P. 484. l. 11. *They affronted the Scottish commissioners.*] Their affronting the Scottish commissioners, (without doubt by the direction of their superiors,) looked as if those superiors had been earnest in their treaty with the king, and had a mind not to be interrupted in their bargain.

P. 484. l. 23. that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to *trust* the king.] The king, by all the accounts of that time, even by some of those wrote by his own servants, acted a double and disingenuous part with those who governed the army. So that Cromwell's complaint below seems not to have been without foundation. On the other hand, the king's situation, and his opinion of those with whom he had to deal being divided into three parties, who had all different interests, it was a great temptation to him (in order to make sure of one) to negociate with all, as he had confidence in none, and to say the truth, he had little reason. Otherwise, had they given him cause to think well of their sincerity, this treating with them all at the same time, had justified their complaint, and breaking with him.

P. 485. l. 18. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained, &c.] All this seems to justify Cromwell in point of honour, and is very consistent with all he said to Huntingdon.

P. 487. l. 32. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas.] This indeed looks as if he had been betrayed by his servants; otherwise,

why should he, who was consulted with about his *transporting* himself, deny the knowledge of the design? But they who deceived him did not intend it should be to him harm, but probably were first deceived themselves.

P. 496. l. 23. It is true that they *both writ apologies.*] These have been published since. Ashburnham's narrative is very poorly written. It is wholly employed in vindicating his own integrity from the charge of betraying his master to Cromwell and Ireton on corrupt motives, without any account of the particulars of the transaction. Berkley's narrative is much better written, and more curious, as giving a detailed account of the whole affair.

P. 504. l. 5. and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the *drowsy, dull presbyterian humour of Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass.*] This admirably characterizes their general; who, as appears from his printed Memoirs, seemed to know little or nothing of the cause of the public quarrel.

P. 512. l. 14. Cromwell declared, that the king was a man of great parts, and great understanding.] See p. 484.

P. 512. l. 23. *That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with* the Scottish commissioners, &c.] This was undoubtedly true. But how far it was just to combat deceit with deceit, in a public negotiation between a king subdued and his subjects triumphant, is not a thing easy to be decided. However, it was evidently his ruin.

P. 513. l. 21. In the mean time, the king, who had, from the time of his coming to *the Isle of Wight, enjoyed the liberty of taking the air.*] This was another unaccountable piece of conduct in the king, that when he had been brought to the Isle of Wight he knew not how, but when he could not engage Hammond's word to let him go as he came, whenever he should choose it, saw, and said, that he

was ruined, that he should not employ the liberty he had from his first coming to the arrival of the parliament commissioners, to take the first opportunity of escaping. But the bringing him to the scaffold seemed to be as much the work of inevitable destiny, as any event recorded in the civil history of mankind. Otherwise *Watson's* early intelligence left the king nothing else to do.

P. 518. l. 26. the people might not be poisoned with the *belief* of it.] i. e. *belief* of the allegations contained in it.

P. 541. l. 30. There was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, &c.] It is certainly true, that those who promoted all this confusion, whether independents or presbyterians, were rogues alike, though of different kinds, and equally obnoxious to all the established laws then in being.

P. 543. l. 26. Machiavel, in this, was in the right, &c.] Our historian was the first sober and virtuous writer I know of who has done this fair justice to the character of Machiavel.

P. 544. l. ult. Cromwell, *though* the greatest *dissembler* living, always made his *hypocrisy* of singular use and benefit to him.] This he observes, because, generally speaking, a man got into the habit of *dissembling* neglects to make the best use of his hypocrisy, and is besides unable to make the best use of it, when it is become notorious.

P. 546. l. 11. *he sung all psalms with them to their tunes.*] This may be understood either literally or figuratively. In the figurative sense the expression is very elegant.

P. 547. l. 5. would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another *who had no eyes*, and so would be willing to be led.] A very just character of the two generals.

P. 548. l. ult. after all his *hypocrisy towards the king and his party.*] Of all Cromwell's acts of hypocrisy, this here mentioned to the king is the most questionable. The king was as insincere with him as he could be with the king.

P. 549. l. 30. and which their preachers told them

*were against conscience, and an invasion of their religion.*] The forcing episcopacy upon them.

P. 549. l. ult. from which they had *vindicated themselves so rudely and unwarrantably.*] The first invasion of England.

P. 550. l. 10. *In this enterprise, the success crowned their work.*] The second invasion.

P. 550. l. 23. *to make a second invasion* of the kingdom.] This which he calls the *second* was indeed the *third.*

P. 552. l. 2. and the destruction of that *idol* they adored.] Presbytery.

P. 552. l. penult. *But many, who did undertake to perform those offices, did not make good what they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.*] It appears from the letters between Cromwell and Hammond, which passed during the king's close confinement in Carisbrook-castle, lately published, that his majesty was perpetually betrayed by those in whom he then put a confidence to carry on the correspondence between him and his friends to facilitate his escape.

P. 553. l. 18. *who were more learned and rational.*] They certainly were so. Such as Goodwin, Owen, &c.

P. 553. l. 30. *Liberty of conscience* was now become the great charter.] It appears from hence how well the noble author understood what Dr. Jer. Taylor at that time so well taught.

P. 554. l. ult. Hereby none of his highness's servants, &c.] Who wrote the memoirs of his own time, not long since published, acknowledges, that he was very certain that the queen had a child by Jermyn.

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## VOL. VI.

P. 1. l. 6. and in settling that *blessed government* they had deprived themselves of.] He must mean the monarchy in the enjoyment of its legal rights. For as to the adminis-

tration of it under Charles I. the noble author hath himself, in the beginning of this History, fairly and honestly shewn, that if ever there was a tyranny exercised by a limited monarchy, it was exercised by Charles.

P. 5. l. 14. might endeavour to *oppose.*] Impose.

P. 9. l. 28. These two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair.] This character of Lauderdale agrees exactly with that which Burnet gives of him, who knew him well; and with his infamous administration in Scotland, when Charles II. employed him to introduce arbitrary power there.

P. 28. l. penult. Mr. L'Estrange spoke to them in *a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority.*] This was the famous sir Roger, and is here well characterized.

P. 32. l. 24. The prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the *lord Jermyn,* as was pretended, found means to borrow, &c.] Jermyn, who had the queen of England's purse, without doubt furnished the prince out of that, as money borrowed by him.

P. 37. l. 13. who desired to serve the king *upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty.*] i. e. without insisting on terms.

P. 41. l. 22. set all the other *wheels going in England which had been preparing all the winter.*] Here was the revolt of the fleet, insurrection in every part of England, an universal disposition in the people, and a Scotch army to support all, and yet all failed; which shews, that no revolution can be brought about in spite of a brave, veteran, well disciplined army, indisposed to a change. The disposition to return again to monarchy in the old channel, was not greater in 1660 than it was now in 1648. What made that attempt succeed, and this fail? Nothing but the party taken by the army. Monk carried it over to the son, and Cromwell kept it back from the father.

P. 52. l. 17. *But the truth is, Cromwell* had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that nation.] This was

well observed as the true cause of the neglect; for had Cromwell thought such a measure as the garrisoning those two towns, as a matter of great importance, he would have regarded no treaties nor *acts of pacification.*

P. 63. l. 11. *Herbert the attorney general.*] The historian has given a fine picture of *Herbert* in his own Life.

P. 65. l. 28. that he would restore the ship *which belonged to his father's good subjects.*] This petition was even more impudent than the *solemn league and covenant.*

P. 65. l. ult. *the countess of Carlisle.*] As vile a woman as her mistress.

P. 66. l. 19. *But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him.*] A wise man can never fail of detecting a knave who talks much.

P. 66. l. 29. with less care than *should have been used to preserve the zeal* of the king's party.] The neglect of the king's party, after the restoration, was only *ingratitude*; but to do it before was egregious folly, as it might have taught them what they were to expect for their loyalty.

P. 76. l. penult. that the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, *had many misadventures.*] These are related at large by the noble historian in his Life.

P. 80. l. 26. There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river.] It was indeed astonishing. One can give no other reason than what is hinted at p. 192. that the queen dreaded his coming to Paris. And this was sufficient, while her creatures Colepepper and Long governed the counsels of the fleet.

P. 82. l. 2. *and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life, and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that province.* There was only one man in the council of whom nobody spoke ill, or laid any thing to his charge; and that was the *lord Hopton.* But there was then such a *combination,* by the countenance of prince Rupert, with all the other lords of the court, and the attorney general, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, &c.] One may judge

from these words of the abandoned characters, and disorderly conduct of the then followers of the royal cause, and how little probability there was that they should ever recover this losing game; while there was but one man amongst them in that place that did honour to the cause, and him all the rest were in a *combination* to discredit.

P. 126. l. 16. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and *happened* to be put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the king, and where he first performed a great service to the parliament.] *Poor Morrice* was not thought worthy the particular resentment of Providence, like lord Brooke and Hambden: though he was a debauchee and renegado, and they men of virtue and conscience.

P. 129. l. 9. *who would have been more choleric if he had had less right of his side.*] This observation lets me well into prince Rupert's character.

P. 130. l. 2. in which many men thought, that he *was assured prince Rupert* would not be offended.] This reflects much upon prince Rupert's honour.

P. 132. l. 3. *whose affections had been long dead.*] This observation is extremely just, both as it regards the genius of puritanism in general, and the state of it at that time.

P. 132. l. 25. And the truth is, *the queen was so fully possessed*, of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the king's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England.] The queen was the author of all this ill counsel; whose superstition made her despise the episcopal church, as much as her husband's superstition made him idolize it.

P. 133. l. 27. and only *resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.*] There was some excuse for him, none for his father.

P. 136. l. 20. the prince believed that the countess of Carlisle, *who had committed faults enough* to the king and queen, had pawned her necklace, &c.] *Faults enough* to be

hanged in her own *necklace*, if no other cord could be found.

P. 139. l. 29. So he returned into England; *where he was never called in question* for stealing the duke away.] He was afterwards for many years a spy or intelligencer under Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary.

P. 158. l. 10. either *to recover their broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them*, he told the commissioners.] They must needs be enemies to the success of the treaty who could persuade the king to this absurd and fatal counsel, which would so long protract the conclusion, that Cromwell and the army (it could not but be seen) would be returned to put a violent end to it.

P. 162. l. 16. However, this proposition was of so *horrid and monstrous* a nature.] It was indeed *horrid and monstrous*. Not for the reason here given, that all resistance of the royal authority was rebellion, but because *this* resistance or war of the parliament on the king was unreasonable and unjust.

P. 163. l. 19. This refractory obstinate adherence of the commissioners, &c.] If he had broke with the parliament on the subject of the preamble, it had been more to his honour, as a great and wise prince, than breaking with them on the subject of episcopacy, or even of the militia.

P. 164. l. 6. and then *it would be universally declared and believed*, how untrue soever the assertion was, *that the king refused to secure the parliament*, &c.] This shews into what distresses the unjust prosecution of a cause always draws the offending, though successful, when they would repair their mischiefs. The king could not in honour consent to the preamble, and the leaders in parliament were excusable in thinking that without the preamble their life would be at the king's mercy. Pretty much the same may be said with regard to the *militia*.

P. 168. l. 12. that if he did *not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy, he would be damned*.] No better could be expected from such ribalds. Better might have

been expected from the king's theology, than that if he did *consent he should be damned.* Which was but the same nonsense differently predicated.

P. 168. l. 30. *that whatsoever was not of divine institution* might very lawfully be altered.] Both the king and the commissioners understood their *Hooker* very ill, to whom both appealed. He shews that episcopacy, even admitting it to be of divine right, might lawfully be changed to another form of church government.

P. 175. l. 28. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned himself, and the public, &c.] The conscience and the honour of the poor king was in a strange feverish condition. To change the form of church government when his people required it, he might have done with a good conscience. But to give up the whole body of his friends and servants to destruction, though some of the most considerable of them consented, was a sad violation, not only of all the rules of good policy, but of true honour, and he would have died gloriously to avoid that disgrace. He had repented of the like action once before in the case of Strafford, who had written to him to give way to the rage of his enemies against himself, in order to preserve his master.

P. 190. l. 5. *And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative, than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites.*] Here the king seems to be more ingenuous than on any other occasion.

P. 192. l. 5. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful *some persons in France* were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; *which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness of his safety*, &c.] The queen of England. She was unwilling the king should interrupt her commerce with Jermyn. See p. 82.

P. 193. l. 1. *because they believed imprisonment was the worst his worst enemies intended towards him.*] A strange infatuation! after the superiority of the army and their principles

were so well known to all. The fatal effects of fanatacism can only be avoided by eluding it, till its violence be worked off. So that nothing but the king's escape out of their hands was reasonably to be thought of.

P. 207. l. ult. Then the house renewed their old votes of no more addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty, &c.] These, and the whole crew of the presbyterian faction, had doubtless as much to answer for overturning the constitution as the independents themselves. The preparation and beginning of all this mischief was the work of the presbyterians, because the independents, by reason of their want of credit and power, were unable to do it. The achievement was the work of the independents. And the opposition they now met with was more from the presbyterian aversion to the independents, than from any horror they had of the work, or repentance for what they had contributed towards it.

P. 209. l. 1. that that protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same.] The two houses were now lost to all sense of right and wrong.

P. 213. l. 29. At the same time, the queen of England, *being struck to the heart*, &c.] She might well be so, when she had defeated the only means of preventing this dreadful catastrophe, by discouraging his rescue out of Carisbrook castle, and his escape into France. See p. 189. and 80.

P. 229. l. 11. From the time of the king's being come to St. James's, when he was delivered into the hands and custody of *colonel Tomlinson*.] Herbert, of the king's bedchamber, tells us, that this Tomlinson intercepted and stole a gold watch which the king had ordered to be conveyed to him through the hands of Tomlinson.

P. 232. l. 5. though they had been *always* such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world.] How could he say this now, when he had owned otherwise in the course of the misunderstanding with the parliament in his papers to them before the war began?

P. 233. l. 30. But it was quickly discerned that it was the general's wife, the *lady Fairfax*, who had uttered both those sharp sayings.] This was a very spirited woman, as appears from Fairfax's Memoirs. She shared the dangers of the war with him, both in his defeats and successes, while the scene was in Yorkshire.

P. 235. l. 14. and being a *proud, formal, weak man.*] Pride in a weak man always shews itself in formality, and gratifies its humour in that ridiculous show.

P. 235. l. 15. *being seduced and a seducer.*] Just as a bubbled gamester turns a setter.

P. 235. l. 30. the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed *since that of our blessed Saviour.*] Nothing can excuse this indecent reference in a pious man like the noble historian.

P. 236. l. 20. in being deprived of a prince, *whose example* would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have.] Religion might have a loss in being deprived of the example of his private virtues, but sure civil government could have none in that of his public administration.

P. 238. l. 6. *He kept state to the full*, which made his court very orderly.] Lady Leicester says to her husband, 1636. "I have been at court. In his majesty (Charles I.) "I found an inclination to shew me some kindness, but he "could not find the way: at last he told me, that he per- "ceived I was very kind to my husband, when he was with "me, which kept me very lean, for he thought me much "fatter than I used to be. This short speech was worse "to me than an absolute silence; for I blushed, and was so "extremely out of countenance, that all the company "laughed at me." Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 472. And young lord Sunderland in the camp, 1642, to his wife. "I never saw the king look better; he is very cheerful, "and by the bawdy discourse, I thought I had been in the "drawing room." Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 668.

P. 240. l. 20. it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, *he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general.*] It is true, that he had this share when he was murdered. But it was the having no share at all (by his long misgovernment) when the trouble began, which enabled his murderers to do their business. It was his long misgovernment that estranged the hearts of the people from him; and it was the severity of his sufferings that brought them back to him: which is always the treatment of the people both to private and public characters.

P. 240. l. 26. To conclude, he was the *worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced.* And if he were not the greatest king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other *prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues* and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.] The historian very judiciously omits, "and the best monarch or governor." What he adds, that no prince was ever unhappy who had half his virtues, is, I believe, very true. For it would be hard to find any prince besides him who aimed at arbitrary power with an intention to make his people happy, which he certainly had, as far as his superstition permitted that intention to operate. Whereas most other princes aim at arbitrary power merely to gratify some impotent passion. But a prince with Charles's virtues had no such passions to gratify.

P. 241. l. 17. *nature.*] i. e. human nature.

P. 244. l. 30. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that church, &c.] The difficulty or impossibility of finding the place, if the body were there, is an idle story. The king, who had received a large sum from his parliament for the solemnity of a public reinterment, contented himself with a very superficial search, and pocketed the money.

P. 246. l. 15. However, they declared, that the peers should have the privilege to be elected knights, or burgesses, &c.] Many more would have sat, and with reason, had they thought the new government stable.

P. 249. l. 24. In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, &c.] It is something singular, that neither on this or any other occasion the historian should ever mention the king's virtuoso character, that was so very eminent. He had not taste for it himself, and thinking it beneath a great king, he buries the knowledge of it in silence.

P. 254. l. 9. He urged the declaration which Fairfax the general had made to him.] Whitlock, speaking of this affair, says, *The general, and Ireton, and Whaley, and Berkstead,* delivering in their testimony, it appeared, *That lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life, which was explained to be freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court. But of this learning I hope none of this nation will have use hereafter.* Mem. p. 381. Now admit the prisoners at Colchester to be *rebels*, and this *learning* may be fairly brought in use. The military has no authority to consider bodies of men in arms against them, in any other light than as *enemies simply*, which when broken and overcome, the conquerors acquire the right of life and death over them. And quarter remits that right, so that their life cannot be taken by a *court martial*. The civil laws have still their right unimpeached, if these *enemies* are found to be *rebels*, which may call them to account after quarter given by the *military*. Whether these lords were *rebels*, in the sense of the laws of the state, was a question worthy of discussion. That *Lisle*, and *Lucas*, who suffered by a *court martial* after quarter given, were *murdered* against all law and justice, is certain.

P. 269. l. 5. which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain.] *Ironice.*

P. 269. l. 8. in the mean time, desired him *not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with*

*him.* Whether it was, that she did not think those persons to be *enough at her devotion;* or that she would have them *receive that honour upon her recommendation.*] She wants to govern him as she had done his father.

P. 269. l. 17. and he *resolved to perform all filial respect towards the queen his mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected.*] This was almost the only good resolution that Charles II. adhered to.

P. 273. l. ult. The delivery of the king's person into the *hands of the parliament at Newcastle had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland.*] It is certain, that neither the Scots nor the English nation were answerable for the infamy, the one of selling, and the other of murdering their king. Yet the presbyterian faction, the majority in both nations, had drove him to those extremities, which forced him into the hands of his destroyers.

P. 284. l. 27. He was then *a man of eclat.*] Card. de Retz, who at this time saw Montrose in Paris, was so struck with his port and appearance, that, in his Memoirs, he says the marquis put him in mind of those ancient heroes, that we meet with only in the relations of Plutarch.

P. 285. l. 4. *And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them.*] In this she was but like all other princes; so that amongst her many ill qualities, this ought to go for nothing.

P. 286. l. 7. and prefer him *before any other of that nation in his esteem.*] In this unquestionably the chancellor judged right. The body of those Scotchmen, who pretended to be disposed to serve the king, expected much for the little they were resolved to do. They were self-interested and bigotted. Montrose, inflamed with the love of glory, had nothing to ask for himself, or the public, but the king's countenance to restore his master to his just rights, despising those who *bartered*, and hating those who *conditioned* with their sovereign.

P. 292. l. 22. She had likewise had long acquaintance

and friendship with *one of the council.*] The noble historian himself.

P. 296. l. 8. and yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the *covenant,* &c.] Yet this earl Lauderdale was afterwards the greatest persecutor of the covenant and covenanters that ever was; and being at the same time the most corrupt tool of arbitrary power, it shews that conscience had never any thing to do with his lordship's determinations.

P. 312. l. 5. *He knew he was not in the queen's favour at all.*] This was the greatest as well as the most deserved compliment he could pay to himself.

P. 329. l. 16. *Though her majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the king had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into Ireland, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution at all had been taken before she was consulted.*] The purpose of the noble historian here, was to shew the reader, that the queen's ambition to govern her son was for the sake of governing: for here she is represented as displeased, not with the *resolution taken,* for this she approved of, but for its having been taken without her leave.

P. 352. l. 19. the lord Jermyn; who, in those straits the king was in, and *the great plenty he himself enjoyed.*] He was kept by the queen.

P. 363. l. 2. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come, &c.] This is a fine compliment, and I believe a deserved one, to the ancient Spanish honour.

P. 401. l. 3. and, no doubt, that consideration which *made most impression upon the king, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him,* &c.] Whatsoever the father's were, the son's adherence to episcopacy was entirely on political considerations.

P. 401. l. 11. but thought it the best expedient to *advance her own religion.*] This certainly was in her wishes and endeavours: for the more freedom she took with her virtue, the more need she had to make reparation to her religion.

P. 402. l. penult. which made it manifest enough, that the *kings of the earth*, &c.] On the principles of the noble author, who supposed the people made for kings, and not kings for the people, this reproof is just; but on the contrary principle, these *kings of the earth* acted justly, since their people were not to be brought into a national quarrel for the sake of a personal injury.

P. 405. l. 15. *that the enjoying the empty title of king; in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world,* was to be preferred *before the empty name of king in any of his own dominions.*] Because the empty name of king abroad impeached no claim or right to any of the prerogatives of monarchy; but the being contented with that *empty name*, within his own dominions, implied a kind of cession of those rights.

P. 436. l. 16. imaginations.] for suppositions.

P. 438. l. 18. and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days.] This mad zeal, which in a common degree would have been most irksome and mortifying to the tempers of these two licentious young men, (the king and duke of Bucks,) was carried by those hypocritic wretches to such ridiculous and burlesque excesses, that they repaid those two young men, for what they suffered by fasts and long sermons, with mirth and laughter without end, when retired in secret.

P. 455. l. 15. But the Scots did not intend to part with them so easily.] Cromwell could not draw the Scottish army from their advantageous post. He knew that the army was entirely governed by their Mar John's. He therefore used this stratagem to provoke them. He entered into an epistolary dispute with them, in which he so heartily abused them, and advanced independency so high, that they were impatient to attack him, and so brought the army down upon him at Dunbar; which was the very thing Cromwell wanted.

P. 466. l. 24. He raised by his own *virtue*, &c.] By *virtue* is here meant his great natural parts, as appears by what follows.

P. 473. l. penult. the *lustre that some of her servants lived in.*] Jermyn.

P. 486. l. 13. *to whom the duke of Buckingham gave himself* wholly up.] This seems to have been the first of a whole life of rogueries.

P. 505. l. 10. and ask pardon *of those who would not question him for it.*] This was the unjust prejudice of honour; he would not ask pardon of those who had resolution as well as a right to exact it.

P. 508. l. 13. when, to his *astonishment*, the duke told him, "he hoped his majesty *would confer it upon himself.*"] One would imagine this extravagant creature was bantering, and in the same humour as when he wrote about *the two kings of Brentford*, in the farce. It was the fortune of this wretched man to do as much mischief to the morals of Charles the Second's court, as his father had done to the politics of James the First's.

P. 515. l. 15. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when *most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed were discovered.*] i. e. *discovered* after the restoration.

P. 542. l. 11. *they who had interest with her finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expense.*] Jermyn her favourite.

P. 556. l. 1. And therefore, when he was upon the scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness, &c.] Had the presbyterians ever gained the power, (though they had then the name of the national church,) this fanatic Love had been at the head of their red-lettered saints.

P. 556. l. 25. And, that the terror might be universal, some *suffered* for loose discourses in taverns.] Not death.

P. 564. l. 14. by the custom of making *frequent relations of his own actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which nobody else ever heard of.*] By that time a liar has lost credit with every body else, he comes to believe himself.

P. 570. l. 23. *who were faulty.*] Jermyn.

P. 570. l. 24. the queen.] She c—— her husband, and plundered, when she could not rule, her son.

P. 573. l. 16. proceeded from another *less warrantable foundation.*] i. e. countenanced by men indifferent to episcopacy, and favouring the puritans for political ends.

P. 574. l. 22. The chancellor told the king, &c.] It must be owned, that what the chancellor of the exchequer said to the king on this occasion, shewed, that the king's dignity and interest forbade him to go to Charenton.

P. 575. l. 7. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the chancellor of the exchequer, *as the implacable enemy of all presbyterians.*] An honest man at this time could hardly be otherwise, when he reflected, that when the king had, by the early virtue of his parliament, made full satisfaction and atonement to his people for his preceding ill government, the incendiary presbyterian ministers drove the nation into this fatal war, big with private and public ruin.

P. 575. l. 22. and the queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion, *made her willing to appear* most displeased for his hindering the king from going to Charenton.] By this the noble historian would insinuate, that the queen disguised her real motive of aversion to him, which was not (*as she was willing to make appear*) his aversion to popery, but his keeping the king from being governed by her. This the following paragraph makes still more evident.

P. 577. l. 2. *But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person.*] This is expressed as if Massey had desired her protection, and she had not honour or *courage* enough to grant it. Whereas in the letter he wrote to her on this occasion, he only desires leave, as her son, the lord Grey's prisoner, to stay in her house for the cure of his wounds. See his letter in the newspaper of that time, called Mercurius Politicus, N°. 65.

P. 583. l. 3. which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her.] Jermyn.

P. 588. l. 15. the king well knowing, that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of *another.*] Jermyn.

P. 604. l. 29. *He told them,* &c.] It was said like a true patriot and an able minister.

P. 609. l. 6. and such as had never been before seen *in this part of the world.*] Intimating, though erroneously, that there were such in China.

P. 612. l. 20. who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man *of a very different temper from the other.*] This was giving a very good character of Ludlow; for, as to their republican principles, their fanaticism was equal.

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## VOL. VII.

P. 2. l. 24. Though he had *been forward enough* to enter upon the war with Holland.] Before, viz. vol. vi. p. 607. his lordship had told us, that Cromwell consented to the Dutch war only to humour St. John. The truth is, the Dutch war was one of the chief engines to effect his purpose. We find by Whitlock, that, immediately after the battle of Worcester, he formed his project of mastering the parliament. He would willingly have done it by becoming king, as we find by a conference between him and many of his friends then, and by a conference with Whitlock afterwards, in the latter end of the year 1652; both his ambition, and what he thought true policy, by the advantages he would reap from the act of Henry VII. concerning a king *de facto,* inclined him to this title. But he found great opposition. The principal officers were for a republic; and the lawyers and others, who were for monarchy, were inclined for one of the house of Stewart. The project therefore he thought proper to wave, but not his scheme of being at the head of the state, under some title or other. The only point was the fit juncture for putting his scheme in execution. When he first projected it, after the battle of Worcester, neither Ireland nor Scotland were totally sub-

dued. He waited to see these two kingdoms settled, and then declared himself in the midst of the Dutch war, which was so far from hazarding his scheme, that it greatly promoted it, by its being a diversion to the public attention. And in choosing this precise juncture, was, I think, his masterstroke of politics.

P. 18. l. 25. *that no protector after him should be general of the army.*] This was to cajole the *council of officers* with the prospect of two great offices instead of one, becoming vacant on the death of the protector.

P. 63. l. 17. though the pope *was old, and much decayed in his generosity.*] Finely expressed, as if a *decay in generosity* as naturally and necessarily accompanied old age as a decay of health.

P. 64. l. 2. In the conclusion of the discourse, the cardinal asked his majesty a question or two of matter of fact.] It was apparently something of the conduct of the Stewarts with regard to their Roman catholic subjects.

P. 80. l. 9. It was well for the king that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris, &c.] This is a story very dishonourable to our hero, how great soever the distresses of himself and his family might be.

P. 95. l. 15. *and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have.*] By this the historian would insinuate to the reader what was his real crime to the queen. It makes infinitely for his honour; and as this was the fact, it was but fair to get the credit of it, by the turn of this relation, which is conducted with much delicacy. In a word, the queen's credit with Charles I. had ruined the father, and this honest minister did all he could that the son should not be ruined by the same means; and in this he succeeded. Though he could not prevent the ruin of the house from other quarters, which was accelerated by his own ruin, brought about in such a manner as made the ruin of that worthless house the less to be pitied.

P. 95. l. 24. and gave occasion to a bold person to publish amongst the amours of the French court.] Bussy Rabutin.

P. 106. l. 27. so blind men are, *whose passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.*] Strong passions oft confine men to one object, and weak judgment hinders them from seeing that object fully and clearly.

P. 116. l. 5. Both the king and his sister were naturally enough inclined to *new sights and festivities.*] These were ever the great passion of the house of Stewart.

P. 120. l. 14. This elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the *elector palatine,* &c.] The elector palatine's conduct in the perpetual court he paid to the long parliament, when they most outraged his uncle, was very extraordinary. Nothing can account for it, but some secret hopes he had, that when they had set aside the king and his children, which he found them much disposed to do, they would choose him to succeed to the crown. The fondness of the sectaries for his family, whose interests had been so much neglected by James and Charles, made this no unreasonable hope. Nothing but this, I think, can explain what Whitlock tells us of a committee of both houses, in March 1646-7, *to receive some intelligence, which the prince elector desired to communicate to the parliament, of great concernment to the protestant religion.* This was in the style of a man who desired to recommend himself to them for his zeal for the good cause. And I make no doubt but that this was originally a project of his mother's. To confirm all this, it is remarkable, he never left the parliament till after the death of his uncle, and the settling the state without king or house of lords; then, in February 1648-9, he took a cold leave of them.

P. 129. l. 23. he told the duke, that the pope had used the *same adage* that his predecessor had done.] This clearly confutes Burnet's idle tittle-tattle of Charles's changing his religion before he left Paris; though we had not Charles's letter to the duke of Gloucester, dated 1654, on this subject, in the Appendix to Thurlow's Papers, vol. i. which he

could never have written, had he himself been first perverted.

P. 134. l. 11. the earl of Rochester, *who was always jealous that somebody would be general before him.*] The ridicule of this lord's temper well expressed.

P. 165. l. 3. which *brought a vast incredible sum of money into Cromwell's coffers.*] This is absolutely false, as appears by the letters of the several major-generals to Cromwell, in the collection of Thurlow's Papers, whereby it appears, that the money raised by decimation, did at most only support those new raised troops, which the major-generals raised in their several districts, to enable them to put their authority in execution.

P. 165. l. 24. that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, *who was to be removed by any way that offered itself.*] This is confirmed by Thurlow's Papers, by which it appears, that the royal family did project and encourage Cromwell's assassination. Without doubt they had high provocation. But such a step appears neither to have been prudent nor honourable.

P. 167. l. penult. and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's father's peaceable and *mild government.*] There is nothing more unaccountable in this History, than that the writer could say this, after his own account of this *government* in the beginning of the work.

P. 169. l. 6. whilst their adored idol, presbytery, *which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king.*] This was strictly true.

P. 169. l. 26. and if they had not at that time rebelled, *and in that manner.*] This plainly hints at the forgery of the king's commission, to which they put the broad seal, that necessitated the king to transfer the management of the war to the parliament.

P. 174. l. 9. *to give his friendship to that crown that should best deserve it.*] Some modern politicians have af-

fected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain, or as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a legal hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. But the usurper was first to take care of himself, and under this circumstance true policy required that he should first take care of himself, before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England. So that though Cromwell gave out, that which of the two states would give most for his friendship should have it, in order to raise the price, he was certainly determined in himself that France should have it.

P. 179. l. 26. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, &c.] Posterity has seen the exquisite judgment of Cromwell in this particular.

P. 192. l. 29. they *might, for aught appeared*, remove him from being both protector and general.] How could this be said, when they made attempting his life high treason, and had granted him tonnage and poundage for life?

P. 194. l. 27. But the more sober persons of the king's party, &c.] All this is incontestable.

P. 202. l. 28. They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his *former dream, or apparition*, that had first informed, and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally *spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation.*] These slight strokes of the popular superstition rather contribute to the dignity and the sublime of history than debase it, which, by going a little further, (as in Echard's History of the Conference between Cromwell and the Devil,) degenerate into old wives' tales.

P. 205. l. 1. and their hopes revived, by that *infatuation*

of his.] By infatuation, the historian does not here mean the being deprived of the ordinary use of reason, (which is the common sense of the word,) but his being overruled by fate or destiny. For the historian has shewn the extreme danger Cromwell had been subject to in accepting the crown; and on the whole, one hardly knows whether to applaud or condemn his politics on this occasion.

P. 211. l. 26. *which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform.*] One hardly knows what is meant by this. But it is certain, from Falconbridge's letters to Harry Cromwell, after the death of Oliver, which we find in Thurlow's collection, that he had the glory and interest of Cromwell's house exceedingly at heart.

P. 216. l. 30. He was the first man that declined *the old track*, and made it manifest *that the science might be attained in less time* than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, *to keep his ship and his men out of danger.*] i. e. the being bred up to the sea service from early youth; and despising the *science*, which indeed could not be soon *attained, the keeping of his ship and men out of danger, and the coming home safe again.*

P. 217. l. 15. and though he hath been very well imitated and followed.] By Monk, Rupert, Montague, Dean, &c.

P. 217. l. 28. they find, that they have *unwarily left a gap open* to let their destruction in upon them.] This was the 3d article of the *petition* and advice. See below.

P. 233. l. 24. under the command of *Schomberg, an officer of the first rank.*] The same who was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

P. 243. l. 7. of which he had received perfect intelligence from a *hand* that was not then in the least degree suspected.] Sir Richard Willis, formerly governor of Newark, and who behaved himself so insolently to the king there.

P. 258. l. 20. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs, &c.] This is excellently well said, and truly observed.

P. 259. l. 4. This the then parliament being sensible of,

&c.] For all those illegal and eccentrical proceedings of the late king, he had given full satisfaction to the parliament and people before the war broke out.

P. 269. l. 20. The gentleman who brought this address, and these *wild propositions*.] The continuance of the long parliament, the king's forced concessions in the Isle of Wight, and exempting sectaries from contributing to the maintenance of a national ministry, were certainly *extravagant and wild propositions*.

P. 291. l. 22. he plainly discovered that his son *Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly*.] This by no means agrees with Falconbridge's letters, in Thurlow's collection, after the death of Cromwell.

P. 292. l. 3. it is very certain, that either what she said, or *her death*.] Her death, undoubtedly.

P. 292. l. 5. about the middle of August, he was seized on by a common *tertian ague*.] He died apparently for want of the bark, then little known.

P. 292. l. 16. and *he himself was of the same mind*.] Thurlow, in a letter, tells Harry Cromwell, that the protector had told some in confidence, that he should recover, as a matter revealed to him, which was to be kept a secret in the family.

P. 294. l. 11. *his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them*.] The reason of this was, that, having no vanity to indulge, he cultivated his faculties just as he wanted to use them.

P. 295. l. 30. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, *demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority*.] This Maynard, learned as he was, was a very strange man; he acquiesced in, or encouraged, all the parliamentary violations of law, but not the *protector's*. And why? For no better reason than this, that the law books spoke of *parliaments*, but not a word of a *protector*.

P. 296. l. 15. He asked them, who made them judges? &c.] Extreme good sense.

P. 296. l. penult. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, *he used great civility, generosity, and bounty.*] Cromwell would have been as clement a conqueror and usurper as Julius Cæsar, had he had as much knowledge in literature, and no more in human nature, than Julius Cæsar.

P. 301. l. 18. it may be, *out of too great a contempt of his enemies.*] This suspicion is unjust. On the other hand, the royal family much encouraged the assassination of Cromwell. See a letter of the duke of York's to Charles II. in the Appendix of Thurlow's first volume of Papers. Why so little was known of it, I suppose, proceeded from chancellor Hyde's abhorrence of it.

P. 316. l. 9. he *thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother.*] This contemptuous pleasantry the two paltroon sons of Oliver deserved.

P. 327. l. 21. One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to *name any man who was of the king's party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life.*] From hence it appears, that his treachery arose from his inability to bear poverty, rather than from an abandoned nature, and profligacy of principle. He had long enjoyed the fruits of the license of war in a good warm government, and he could not think of starving for conscience sake; though he had courage to fight for it.

P. 331. l. 29. the troop marching down *a very steep hill.*] Froster-hill, ten miles south of Gloucester.

P. 339. l. 20. only *to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction.*] This is well observed. For this war had wonderfully improved the art military, and, towards

its conclusion, had produced those two consummate captains, the *great Condé* and *Turenne.*

P. 348. l. 8. *and who always delighted to go out of the way.*] He never mentions Digby, but he paints him with admirable touches.

P. 351. l. 6. He had a good judgment and understanding, *and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it.*] It is certain, that what enables a man to excel in the *talent of rhetoric*, is his delight in the charms of it. Whoever is so delighted, is easily made the dupe of it; which he can never be, who feels not the charms of it, and consequently excels not in it.

P. 357. l. 22. *as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without his concurrence, and even against all his machinations.*] The confidence, folly, and impiety of an all powerful minister admirably described and ridiculed.

P. 359. l. 14. *for a king incognito was never heard of in Spain.*] The Spanish form and fashion well described in these words.

P. 366. l. 5. *since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.*] This comparison is of a piece with that he made before, between the murder of Charles and of Jesus Christ.

P. 366. l. 24. upon his promise that *he should succeed him.*] He wanted only Cromwell's fanaticism to make his promise good against his will.

P. 367. l. 22. that they would commit the army to *Fleetwood, as general; and that they would appoint Lambert to be major general.*] This was a well conceived scheme; for Fleetwood was just as fit a stalking horse for Lambert, as Fairfax had been for Cromwell: two generals in chief of impenetrable stupidity.

P. 375. l. penult. *there being great emulation between him and Lambert.*] As Monk and Lambert were neither of them enthusiastical, Monk shewed his superior understanding in never attempting to rise by the enthusiasts, which was the thing that ruined Lambert.

P. 378. l. 2. otherwise, without *obligation to any party or opinion.*] i. e. *without religion*; (well expressed,) which was the truth of the case.

P. 384. l. 16. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers accidents, &c.] This was certainly the truth of the case.

P. 394. l. 1. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, &c.] This perfectly coincides with what he said of Monk, p. 384.

P. 396. l. 11. And it was the king's great happiness that the general never *owned his purpose to serve his majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power to do.*] He certainly had never any purpose to serve the king, till it appeared to him, that it was in vain to think of serving any body else. By the truest policy he projected nothing, but always made the best use of conjunctures.

P. 406. l. 17. Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, &c.] Had the general had the well regulated enthusiasm (for he wanted not the courage) of Cromwell, or had this remnant of the rump been less vigilant than they had been before, the farce had ended in a second protectorship. But they were refractory, and he was downright. And so found less trouble in breaking than in bending them.

P. 417. l. 14. *Divers who heard this, thought there was no dissimulation in it.*] And so, I dare say, thought the noble historian; and so certainly it was in fact. All the general had yet determined on, was to rise by establishing a regular, lasting government, new or old, as occurrences should direct.

P. 420. l. 22. and such other additions, *as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.*] i. e. the fact was much magnified by the relator.

P. 425. l. 18. *for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth.*] In this uncertainty of Monk, who appears to have been resolved to

follow accidents rather than to lead them, this talk of commonwealth principles was so general as to bind him to nothing, or to impede the execution of whatever he should resolve on.

P. 428. l. 3. This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general, and the council of state, *into a great agony.*] Lambert, when at liberty, was sure to traverse Monk's schemes, whether they should be for himself or for the king.

P. 429. l. 26. colonel Ingoldsby, who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to *Oliver and Richard.*] As Oliver availed himself of his own cunning and enthusiasm in different, so for the same reason he employed both equally as they were found separately in his creatures. And *Ingoldsby*, who, as Richard said, *could neither preach nor pray*, was as useful to him as *Harrison*, who could do both in perfection.

P. 442. l. 10. and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to *leave no part to him to merit of the king; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.*] This was apparently the reason why, in the conference at Northumberland-house, he insisted on the most severe conditions. He found them all disposed to be reasonable, and was afraid they should get before him. His caution made him wait so long, that the king, he saw, must be restored in spite of him; but then, by his address, he got himself at the head of a measure that was become inevitable.

P. 444. l. 27. *till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his majesty.*] By this it appears Monk was resolved not to precede, but follow the motions of this new parliament, whether to monarchy or a republic.

P. 471. l. 1. and though he *was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king.*] It was offered him too late, when all the men in power, both in the army and the parliament, were grown odious by their tyranny, and insignificant by their breaking into cabals and factions.

P. 474. l. 29. it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives.] They deserved all they suffered, and much more. No nation in the world had ever given such an example of cruelty in the breaking out of the rebellion, or of perfidy, when they pretended to repent, in the course of it.

P. 481. l. 18. they were contented to gratify the *presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them.*] The character of a presbyterian composition is to be *tedious* and *fulsome.* The one the mark of a cloudy understanding; the other of a base heart.

P. 490. l. 13. *always abhorring the action in his heart.*] This is absolutely false. For when, in the summer preceding Charles's murder, the independents began to open their design, by petitions from various parts, Ingoldsby's regiment, in October, was amongst these petitioners to the general, and in their address were these words: They desire *immediate care that justice may be done upon the principal invaders of all their liberties, namely, the KING and his party.* See Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 346. 2d edit.

P. 490. l. 31. taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby,* he making all the resistance he could: and he said, *if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand.*] At this time it is to be observed, Cromwell was in Scotland. As to Cromwell's putting the pen between his fingers when Ingoldsby signed the warrant, it is an idle story. The original warrant is still extant, and Ingoldsby's name has no such mark of its being wrote in that manner.

P. 492. l. 1. *But the mutual jealousies between them.*] This enmity broke out in the Dutch war.

P. 496. l. 12. when *some of them had been zealous instruments and promoters of it.*] These, by their modesty, must have been presbyterians.

P. 498. l. 17. which expedition *was never forgiven him*

*by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.*] He means Monk himself, who revenged himself cruelly upon him for an irregular distribution of prize goods in the Dutch war: which the historian relates at large, and condemns, in the history of his ministry.

P. 501. l. 28. who, they said, *had always, according to the obligation of their covenant, wished his majesty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty.*] Their *covenant obliged* them to bring the father to his murderers, after he had so largely secured the liberty of the subject; and their *covenant obliged* them to bring the son to the throne, without giving any security at all. But against the surplice and Common Prayer they were still ready to blow up another flame.

P. 505. l. 12. but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity *to the world's end.*] Words expressing the ridicule of their adulation, and so intended by the writer.

END OF VOL. VII.